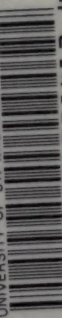


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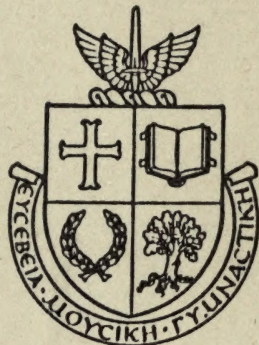


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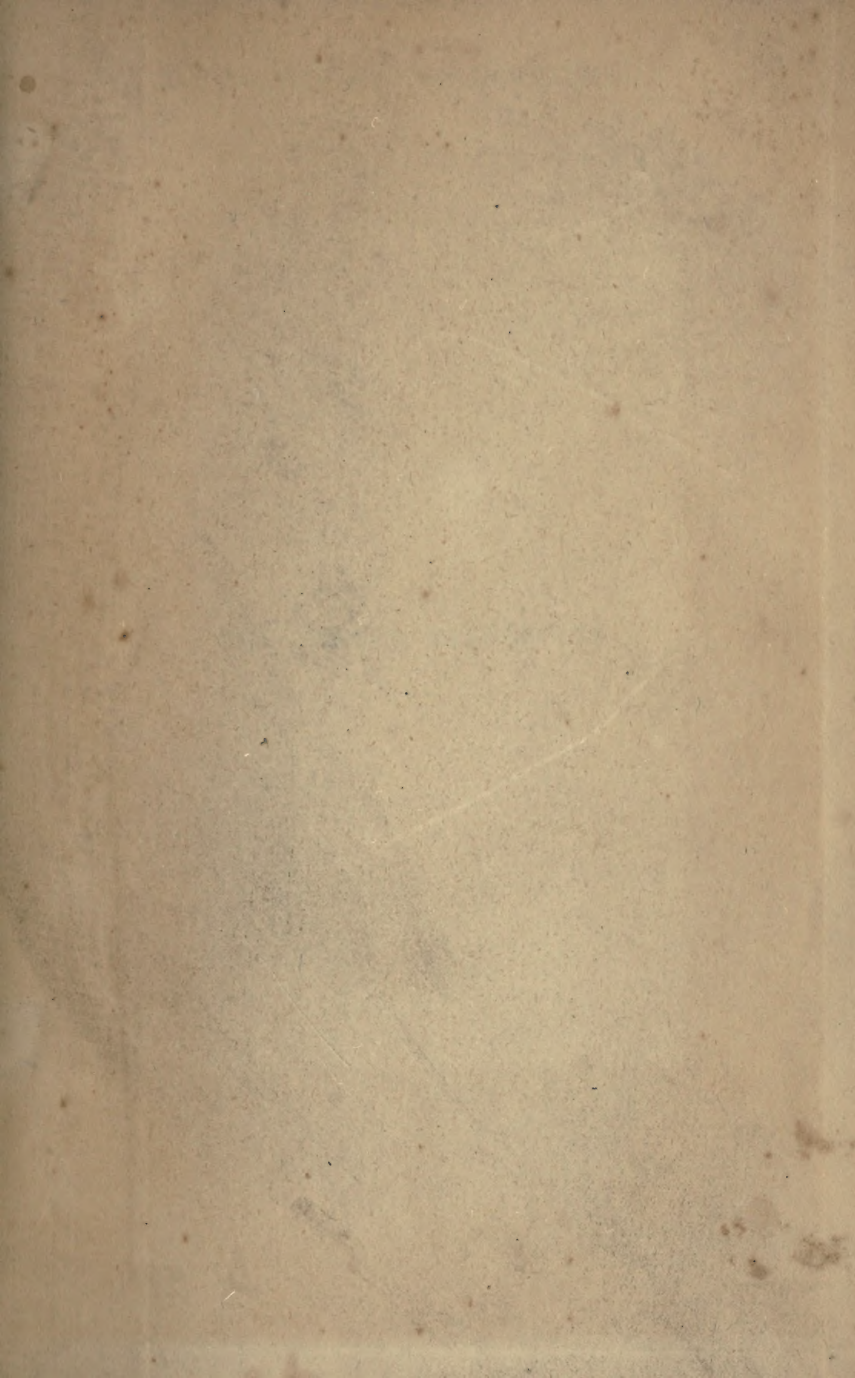


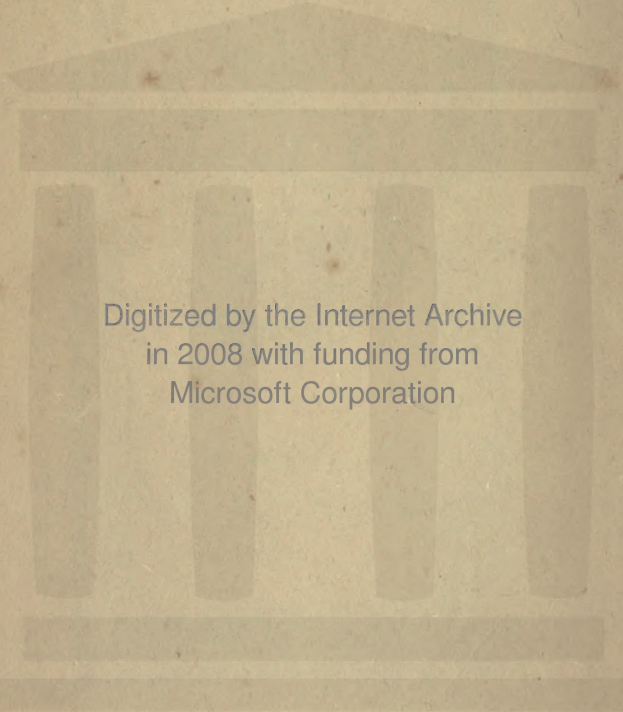
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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A HISTORY

IN THREE PARTS

I. THE BASTILLE; II. THE CONSTITUTION;
III. THE GUILLOTINE

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE

A NEW EDITION,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY C. R. L. FLETCHER, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III

METHUEN & CO.

36 ESSEX STREET W.C.

LONDON

1902

A HISTORY

IN THREE VOLUMES

I. THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE
II. THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH
III. THE HISTORY OF THE

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BOOK III

THE GIRONDINS

CHAPTER I

CAUSE AND EFFECT

THIS huge Insurrectionary Movement, which we liken to a breaking out of Tophet and the Abyss, has swept away Royalty, Aristocracy, and a King's life. The question is, What will it next do; how will it henceforth shape itself? Settle down into a reign of Law and Liberty; according as the habits, persuasions and endeavours of the educated, monied, respectable class prescribe? That is to say: the volcanic lava-flood, bursting up in the manner described, will explode and flow according to Girondin Formula and pre-established rule of Philosophy? If so, for our Girondin friends it will be well.

Meanwhile were not the prophecy rather, that as no external force, Royal or other, now remains which could control this Movement, the Movement will follow a course of its own; probably a very original one? Further, that whatsoever man or men can best interpret the inward tendencies it has, and give them voice and activity, will obtain the lead of it? For the rest, that as a thing *without* order, a thing proceeding from beyond and beneath the region of order, it must work and welter, not as a Regularity but as a Chaos; destructive and self-destructive; always till something that *has* order arise, strong enough to bind it into subjection again? Which something, we may further

conjecture, will not be a Formula, with philosophical propositions and forensic eloquence ; but a Reality, probably with a sword in its hand !

As for the Girondin Formula, of a respectable Republic for the Middle Classes, all manner of Aristocracies being now sufficiently demolished, there seems little reason to expect that the business will stop there. *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, these are the words ; enunciative and prophetic. Republic for the respectable washed Middle Classes, how can that be the fulfilment thereof ? Hunger and nakedness, and nightmare oppression lying heavy on Twenty-five million hearts ; this, not the wounded vanities or contradicted philosophies of philosophical Advocates, rich Shopkeepers, rural Noblesse, was the prime mover in the French Revolution ; as the like will be in all such Revolutions, in all countries.¹ Feudal Fleur-de-lys had become an insupportably bad marching-banner, and needed to be torn and trampled : but Moneybag of Mammon (for that, in these times, is what the respectable Republic for the Middle Classes will signify) is a still worse, while it lasts. Properly, indeed, it is the worst and basest of all banners, and symbols of dominion among men ; and indeed is possible only in a time of general Atheism, and Unbelief in anything save in brute Force and Sensualism ; pride of birth, pride of office, any known kind of pride being a degree better than purse-pride. Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood : not in the Moneybag, but far elsewhere, will Sansculottism seek these things.

We say therefore that an Insurrectionary France, loose of control from without, destitute of supreme order from within, will form one of the most tumultuous Activities ever seen on this Earth ; such as no Girondin Formula can regulate. An immeasurable force, made up of forces manifold, heterogeneous, compatible and incompatible. In plainer words, this France must needs split into Parties ; each of which seeking to make

¹[Carlyle here shows himself an adherent of Lord Bacon's views, who in his essay "Of Seditions and Troubles" declares that the "rebellions of the belly are the worst," but we may well doubt whether the truer view be not that of Mr. Herbert Spencer (*vide* my introduction).]

itself good, contradiction, exasperation will arise ; and Parties on Parties find that they cannot work together, cannot exist together.

As for the number of Parties, there will, strictly counting, be as many Parties as there are opinions. According to which rule, in this National Convention itself, to say nothing of France generally, the number of Parties ought to be Seven-hundred and Forty-nine ; for every unit entertains his opinion. But now, as every unit has at once an individual nature or necessity to follow his own road, and a gregarious nature or necessity to see himself travelling by the side of others,—what can there be but dissolutions, precipitations, endless turbulence of attracting and repelling ; till once the master-element get evolved, and this wild alchemy arrange itself again ?

To the length of Seven-hundred and Forty-nine Parties, however, no Nation was ever yet seen to go. Nor indeed much beyond the length of Two Parties ; two at a time ;—so invincible is man's tendency to unite, with all the invincible divisiveness he has ! Two Parties, we say, are the usual number at one time : let these two fight it out, all minor shades of party rallying under the shade likest them ; when the one has fought down the other, then it, in its turn, may divide, self-destructive ; and so the process continue, as far as needful. This is the way of Revolutions, which spring up as the French one has done ; when the so-called Bonds of Society snap asunder ; and all Laws that are not Laws of Nature become naught and Formulas merely.

But, quitting these somewhat abstract considerations, let History note this concrete reality which the streets of Paris exhibit, on Monday the 25th of February 1793. Long before daylight that morning, these streets are noisy and angry. Petitioning enough there has been ; a Convention often solicited. It was but yesterday there came a Deputation of Washerwomen with Petition ; complaining that not so much as soap could be had ; to say nothing of bread, and condiments of bread. The cry of

women, round the Salle de Manége, was heard plaintive: "*Du pain et du savon*, Bread and soap."¹

And now from six o'clock, this Monday morning, one perceives the Bakers' Queues unusually expanded, angrily agitating themselves. Not the Baker alone, but two Section Commissioners to help him, manage with difficulty the daily distribution of loaves. Soft-spoken assiduous, in the early candle-light, are Baker and Commissioners: and yet the pale chill February sunrise discloses an unpromising scene. Indignant Female Patriots, partly supplied with bread, rush now to the shops, declaring that they will have groceries. Groceries enough: sugar-barrels rolled forth into the street, Patriot Citoyennes weighing it out at a just rate of elevenpence a pound; likewise coffee-chests, soap-chests, nay cinnamon and cloves-chests, with *aquavitæ* and other forms of alcohol,—at a just rate, which some do not pay; the pale-faced Grocer silently wringing his hands! What help? The distributive Citoyennes are of violent speech and gesture, their long Eumenides-hair hanging out of curl; nay in their girdles pistols are seen sticking: some, it is even said, have *beards*,—male Patriots in petticoats and mob-cap. Thus, in the street of Lombards, in the street of Five-Diamonds, street of Pulleys, in most streets of Paris does it effervesce, the livelong day; no Municipality, no Mayor Pache, though he was War-Minister lately, sends military against it, or aught against it but persuasive-eloquence, till seven at night, or later.

On Monday gone five weeks, which was the twenty-first of January, we saw Paris, beheading its King, stand silent, like a petrified City of Enchantment: and now on this Monday it is so noisy, selling sugar; Cities, especially Cities in Revolution, are subject to these alternations; the secret courses of civic business and existence effervescing and efflorescing, in this manner, as a concrete Phenomenon to the eye. Of which Phenomenon, when secret existence, becoming public, effloresces on the street, the philosophical cause and effect is not so easy to find. What,

¹ *Moniteur*, &c. (Hist. Parl. xxiv. 332-348).

for example, may be the accurate philosophical meaning, and meanings, of this sale of sugar? These things that have become visible in the street of Pulleys and over Paris, whence are they, we say; and whither?—

That Pitt has a hand in it, the gold of Pitt:¹ so much, to all reasonable Patriot men, may seem clear. But then, through what agents of Pitt? Varlet, Apostle of Liberty, was discerned again of late, with his pike and red nightcap. Deputy Marat published in his Journal, this very day, complaining of the bitter scarcity, and sufferings of the people, till he seemed to get wroth: 'If your Rights of Man were anything but a piece of written paper, the plunder of a few shops, and a forestaller or two hung up at the door-lintels, would put an end to such things.'² Are not these, say the Girondins, pregnant indications? Pitt has bribed the Anarchists; Marat is the agent of Pitt: hence this sale of sugar. To the Mother-Society, again, it is clear that the scarcity is factitious; is the work of Girondins, and such like; a set of men sold partly to Pitt; sold wholly to their own ambitions, and hard-hearted pedantries; who will not fix the grain-prices, but prate pedantically of free-trade; wishing to starve Paris into violence, and embroil it with the Departments: hence this sale of sugar.

And, alas, if to these two notabilities, of a Phenomenon and such Theories of a Phenomenon, we add this third notability, That the French Nation has believed, for several years now, in the possibility, nay certainty and near advent, of a universal Millennium, or reign of Freedom, Equality, Fraternity, wherein man should be the brother of man, and sorrow and sin flee away? Not bread to eat, nor soap to wash with; and the reign of Perfect Felicity ready to arrive, due always since the Bastille

¹[A good stock 'cry.' As far back as the Bastille day the 'gold of Pitt' was a common belief in France: even Mercy believed that Pitt had a hand in the troubles of July '89, and the Duke of Dorset was obliged to write to the Constituent Assembly denying the charge (see Taine, i. 126).]

²Hist. Parl. xxiv. 353-356. [*Ami du Peuple*, Feb. 25th. Santerre was at Versailles on that day, and no attempt was made to call out the National Guard to stop the pillage.]

fell! How did our hearts burn within us, at that Feast of Pikes, when brother flung himself on brother's bosom; and in sunny jubilee, Twenty-five millions burst forth into sound and cannon-smoke! Bright was our Hope then, as sunlight; red-angry is our Hope grown now, as consuming fire. But, O Heavens, what enchantment is it, or devilish legerdemain, of such effect, that Perfect Felicity, always within arm's length, could never be laid hold of, but only in her stead Controversy and Scarcity? This set of traitors after that set! Tremble, ye traitors; dread a People which calls itself patient, long-suffering; but which cannot always submit to have its pocket picked, in this way,—of a Millennium!

Yes, Reader, here is the miracle. Out of that putrescent rubbish of Scepticism, Sensualism, Sentimentalism, hollow Macchiavelism, such a Faith has verily risen; flaming in the heart of a People. A whole People, awakening as it were to consciousness in deep misery, believes that it is within reach of a Fraternal Heaven-on-Earth. With longing arms, it struggles to embrace the Unspeakable; cannot embrace it, owing to certain causes.—Seldom do we find that a whole People can be said to have any Faith at all; except in things which it can eat and handle. Whensoever it gets any Faith, its history becomes spirit-stirring, noteworthy. But since the time when steel Europe shook itself simultaneously at the word of Hermit Peter, and rushed towards the Sepulchre where God had lain, there was no universal impulse of Faith that one could note. Since Protestantism went silent, no Luther's voice, no Zisca's drum any longer proclaiming that God's Truth was *not* the Devil's Lie; and the Last of the Cameronians (Renwick was the name of him; honour to the name of the brave!) sank, shot, on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, there was no partial impulse of Faith among Nations.¹ Till now, behold, once more, this French Nation believes! Herein, we say, in that astonishing Faith of theirs, lies the miracle. It is a Faith un-

¹[James Renwick, born 1662, hanged in the Grassmarket, Edinburgh, aged 26, Feb. 17th 1688, the last of the Martyrs of the Covenant. See Dict. Nat. Biogr., sub verb. Renwick.]

doubtedly of the more prodigious sort, even among Faiths; and will embody itself in prodigies. It is the soul of that world-prodigy named French Revolution; whereat the world still gazes and shudders.

But, for the rest, let no man ask History to explain by cause and effect how the business proceeded henceforth. This battle of Mountain and Gironde, and what follows, is the battle of Fanaticisms and Miracles; unsuitable for cause and effect. The sound of it, to the mind, is as a hubbub of voices in distraction; little of articulate is to be gathered by long listening and studying; only battle-tumult, shouts of triumph, shrieks of despair. The Mountain has left no Memoirs;¹ the Girondins have left Memoirs, which are too often little other than long-drawn Interjections, of *Woe is me*, and *Cursed be ye*. So soon as History can philosophically delineate the conflagration of a kindled Fireship, she may try this other task. Here lay the bitumen-stratum, there the brimstone one; so ran the vein of gunpowder, of nitre, terebinth and foul grease: this, were she inquisitive enough, History might partly know. But how they acted and re-acted below decks, one fire-stratum playing into the other, by its nature and the art of man, now when all hands ran raging, and the flames lashed high over shrouds and topmast: this let not History attempt.

The Fireship is old France, the old French Form of Life; her crew a Generation of men. Wild are their cries and their ragings there, like spirits tormented in that flame. But, on the whole, are they not *gone*, O Reader? Their Fireship and they, frightening the world, have sailed away; its flames and its thunders quite away, into the Deep of Time. One thing therefore History will do: pity them all; for it went hard with them all. Not even the seagreen Incorruptible but shall have some pity, some human love, though it takes an effort. And now, so much once

¹[This is not strictly true, though it seemed truer when Carlyle wrote than it is now. Barère and Barras have both left *Mémoires*, though utterly untrustworthy: Levasseur's spurious *Mémoires* were about the only *Montagnard* ones extant in Carlyle's time; but *Père Duchesne* and *L'Ami du Peuple*, as well as Carnot and Couthon's Correspondences, are *Mémoires* in themselves.]

thoroughly attained, the rest will become easier. To the eye of equal brotherly pity, innumerable perversions dissipate themselves; exaggerations and execrations fall off, of their own accord. Standing wistfully on the safe shore, we will look, and see, what is of interest to us, what is adapted to us.

CHAPTER II

CULOTTIC AND SANS-CULOTTIC

GIRONDE and Mountain are now in full quarrel;¹ their mutual rage, says Toulangeon, is growing a 'pale' rage. Curious, lamentable: all these men have the word Republic on their lips; in the heart of every one of them is a passionate wish for something which he calls Republic: yet see their death-quarrel! So, however, are men made. Creatures who live in confusion; who, once thrown together, can readily fall into that confusion of confusions which quarrel is, simply because their confusions differ from one and another; still more because they seem to differ! Men's words are a poor exponent of their thought; nay their thought itself is a poor exponent of the inward unnamed Mystery, wherefrom both thought and action have their birth. No man can explain himself, can get himself explained; men see not one another, but distorted phantasms which they call one another; which they hate and go to battle with: for all battle is well said to be *misunderstanding*.

But indeed that similitude of the Fireship; of our poor French brethren, so fiery themselves, working also in an *element* of fire, was not insignificant. Consider it well, there is a shade of the truth in it. For a man, once committed headlong to republican or any other Transcendentalism, and fighting and fanaticising amid a Nation of his like, becomes as it were enveloped in an ambient atmosphere of Transcendentalism and Delirium: his individual self is lost in something that is not himself, but foreign

¹[The strife may be said to have definitely begun with Roland's resignation (Jan. 23rd), if not with Gensonné's motion on 20th that the Minister of Justice be authorised to institute proceedings against the Septemberers. This was carried; but repealed, in spite of a solitary protest by Lanjuinais, on Feb. 8th.]

though inseparable from him. Strange to think of, the man's cloak still seems to hold the same man : and yet the man is not there, his volition is not there ; nor the source of what he will do and devise ; instead of the man and his volition there is a piece of Fanaticism and Fatalism incarnated in the shape of him. He, the hapless incarnated Fanaticism, goes his road ; no man can help him, he himself least of all. It is a wonderful, tragical predicament ;—such as human language, unused to deal with these things, being contrived for the uses of common life, struggles to shadow out in figures. The ambient element of material fire is not wilder than this of Fanaticism ; nor, though visible to the eye, is it more real. Volition bursts forth involuntary-voluntary ; rapt along ; the movement of free human minds becomes a raging tornado of fatalism, blind as the winds ; and Mountain and Gironde, when they recover themselves, are alike astounded to see *where* it has flung and dropt them. To such height of miracle can men work on men ; the Conscious and the Unconscious blended inscrutably in this our inscrutable Life ; endless Necessity environing Freewill !

The weapons of the Girondins are Political Philosophy, Respectability and Eloquence. Eloquence, or call it rhetoric, really of a superior order ; Vergniaud, for instance, turns a period as sweetly as any man of that generation. The weapons of the Mountain are those of mere Nature : Audacity and Impetuosity which may become Ferocity, as of men complete in their determination, in their conviction ; nay of men, in some cases, who as Septemberers must either prevail or perish. The ground to be fought for is Popularity : further you may either seek Popularity with the friends of Freedom and Order, or with the friends of Freedom Simple ; to seek it with both has unhappily become impossible. With the former sort, and generally with the Authorities of the Departments, and such as read Parliamentary Debates, and are of respectability, and of a peace-loving monied nature, the Girondins carry it. With the extreme Patriot again, with the indigent Millions, especially with the Population of

Paris who do not read so much as hear and see, the Girondins altogether lose it, and the Mountain carries it.

Egoism, nor meanness of mind, is not wanting on either side. Surely not on the Girondin side; where in fact the instinct of self-preservation, too prominently unfolded by circumstances, cuts almost a sorry figure; where also a certain finesse, to the length even of shuffling and shamming, now and then shows itself. They are men skilful in Advocate-fence. They have been called the Jesuits of the Revolution¹; but that is too hard a name. It must be owned likewise that this rude blustering Mountain has a sense in it of what the Revolution means; which these eloquent Girondins are totally void of. Was the Revolution made, and fought for, against the world, these four weary years, that a Formula might be substantiated; that Society might become *methodic*, demonstrable by logic; and the old Noblesse with their pretensions vanish? Or ought it not withal to bring some glimmering of light and alleviation to the Twenty-five Millions, who sat in darkness, heavy-laden, till they rose with pikes in their hands? At least and lowest, one would think, it should bring them a proportion of bread to live on? There is in the Mountain here and there; in Marat People's-Friend; in the incorruptible Seagreen himself, though otherwise so lean and formulary, a heartfelt knowledge of this latter fact;—without which knowledge all other knowledge here is naught, and the choicest forensic eloquence is as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. Most cold, on the other hand, most patronising, unsubstantial is the tone of the Girondins towards 'our poorer brethren;'—those brethren whom one often hears of under the collective name of 'the masses,' as if they were not persons at all, but mounds of combustible explosive material, for blowing down Bastilles with! In very truth, a Revolutionist of this kind, is he not a Solecism? Disowned by Nature and Art; deserving only to be erased, and disappear! Surely, to our poorer brethren of Paris, all this Girondin patronage sounds deadening and killing:

¹ Dumouriez, Mémoires, iii. 314.

if fine-spoken and incontrovertible in logic, then all the falser, all the hatefuller in fact.

Nay doubtless, pleading for Popularity, here among our poorer brethren of Paris, the Girondin has a hard game to play. If he gain the ear of the Respectable at a distance, it is by insisting on September and such like ; it is at the expense of this Paris where he dwells and perorates. Hard to perorate in such an auditory ! Wherefore the question arises : Could we not get ourselves out of this Paris ? Twice or oftener such an attempt is made. If not we ourselves, thinks Guadet,¹ then at least our *Suppléans* might do it. For every Deputy has his *Suppléant*, or Substitute,² who will take his place if need be : might not these assemble, say at Bourges, which is a quiet episcopal Town, in quiet Berri, forty good leagues off ? In that case, what profit were it for the Paris Sansculottery to insult us ; our *Suppléans* sitting quiet in Bourges, to whom we could run ? Nay, even the Primary electoral Assemblies, thinks Guadet, might be reconvoked, and a New Convention got, with

¹[May 18th.]

²[It is not true that 'every deputy has his *suppléant*.' In Sept. '92, 298 *suppléans* in all were elected, and these should have been called up in turn to fill the vacancies happening in their respective deputations. It is evident however that a fair number of persons elected to the Convention refused to sit, or never sat ; for on Sept. 1st '93 a member complained that in many deputations the whole list of *suppléans* had been called up, and yet these deputations were not full. The whole system shows how imperfectly France understood the parliamentary idea of 'an appeal to the country :' any appeal to the provinces, if free and thorough, would have been answered in favour of Constitutional Royalty, and it is very doubtful if even at this time such an appeal would have helped the Gironde seriously. As it was the Provinces were utterly without leaders, and the Jacobin Clubs were almost the only "authorities" existing. Still out of the *suppléans* 170 were at one time or another called up : on Oct. 14th '93 the Convention voted that no *suppléant* who had protested against June 2nd, or had been suspended from any office by a *Représentant en mission*, or had taken part in any 'liberticide measures,' should be allowed to sit. On Dec. 15th the names of all the *suppléans* were 'pooled,' irrespective of their several deputations, and names to fill vacancies drawn by lot, subject to the above restrictions. Not till Feb. 25th 1795 were the *suppléans* freely admitted in turn in spite of their opinions (see Guiffrey, cap. iii., and Rev. de la Rév. iv. ii. 205-7).

What Guadet actually proposed (on May 18th) was that the *suppléans* should be called together at Bourges, but should not deliberate till they had actual news of the destruction of the Convention (which he, Guadet, thought imminent). Vergniaud supported the motion ; but at that very time there were indications that the *Montagne* would not have it all their own way ; several Sections (notably Tuileries, Fraternité and Buttes des Moulins) presented addresses of moderate temper, and Dutard (*vid. infr.* cap. viii.) had hopes from addresses drawn up at Bordeaux, which the Convention had ordered to be printed and circulated, and so Guadet's motion was not pushed.]

new orders from the Sovereign People; and rightglad were Lyons, were Bourdeaux, Rouen, Marseilles, as yet Provincial Towns, to welcome us in their turn, and become a sort of Capital Towns; and teach these Parisians reason.

Fond schemes; which all misgo! If decreed, in heat of eloquent logic, today, they are repealed, by clamour and passionate wider considerations, on the morrow.¹ Will you, O Girondins, parcel us into separate Republics, then; like the Swiss, like your Americans; so that there be no Metropolis or indivisible French Nation any more? Your Departmental Guard seemed to point that way! Federal Republic? Federalist? Men and Knitting-women repeat *Fédéraliste*, with or without much Dictionary-meaning; but go on repeating it, as is usual in such cases, till the meaning of it becomes almost magical, fit to designate all mystery of Iniquity; and *Fédéraliste* has grown a word of Exorcism and *Apaga-Satanas*.² But furthermore, consider what 'poisoning of public opinion' in the Departments, by these Brissot, Gorsas, Caritat-Condorcet Newspapers! And then also what counter-poisoning, still feller in quality, by a *Père Duchesne* of Hébert, brutallest Newspaper yet published on Earth; by a *Rougiff* of Guffroy;³ by the 'incendiary leaves of Marat!' More than once, on complaint given and effervescence rising, it is decreed that a man cannot both be Legislator and Editor; that he shall choose

¹ *Moniteur*, 1793, No. 140, &c.

² [That the accusation of 'Federalism' was not without ground may be gathered from several passages in *Mme Roland* and *Buzot*. 'We (meaning her friends in 1792) discussed the proposal for a Republican government and spoke of the excellent temper of the cities of the South' (*Mme Roland*, 249). 'The French Republic is only possible in a form nearly like that of the American' (*Buzot*, 58). The Gironde were fond of harping upon the excellencies of the American model. But it suited the *Montagne* to treat any appeal to the Provinces against Paris as treason, and 'Federalism' was a convenient name to give it. How far the movement of the summer of '93 in Normandy and Provence was Girondin is difficult to say; Mallet du Pan thought it merely the revolt of respectability against mob rule, and that it might be utilised for the restoration of Constitutional Monarchy (*Corresp.* i. 392); he placed even more confidence in it than in La Vendée, which he regarded as having risen too soon and too much for the *Ancien Régime tout pur*.]

³ [*Rougiff, ou le Franc en vedette* (July 9th '93—May 29th '94), a blasphemous and filthy print (with a motto from a Eucharistic hymn, twisted and adorned with oaths and filth). (*Tourneux*, ii. 698.) Guffroy, a savage from Arras, born 1740, sat for the Pas-de-Calais in the Convention. He sat in the *Comité de Sécurité Générale* and quarrelled with Robespierre a little while before Thermidor; denounced all his former associates, and died a clerk in the Ministry of Justice.]

between the one function and the other.¹ But this too, which indeed could help little, is revoked or eluded; remains a pious wish mainly.

Meanwhile, as the sad fruit of such strife, behold, O ye National Representatives, how between the friends of Law and the friends of Freedom everywhere, mere heats and jealousies have arisen; fevering the whole Republic! Department, Provincial Town is set against Metropolis, Rich against Poor, Culottic against Sansculottic, man against man. From the Southern Cities come Addresses of an almost inculpatory character; for Paris has long suffered Newspaper calumny. Bourdeaux demands a reign of Law and Respectability, meaning Girondism, with emphasis. With emphasis Marseilles demands the like.² Nay, from Marseilles there come *two* Addresses: one Girondin; one Jacobin Sansculottic. Hot Rebecqui, sick of this Convention-work, has given place to his Substitute, and gone home; where also, with such jarrings, there is work to be sick of.

Lyons, a place of Capitalists and Aristocrats, is in still worse state; almost in revolt. Chalier the Jacobin Town-Councillor has got, too literally, to daggers-drawn with Nièvre-Chol the *Modératin* Mayor; one of your Moderate, perhaps Aristocrat, Royalist or Federalist Mayors! Chalier, who pilgrimed to Paris 'to behold Marat and the Mountain,' has verily kindled himself at their sacred urn: for on the 6th of February last, History or Rumour has seen him haranguing his Lyons Jacobins in a quite transcendental manner, with a drawn dagger in his hand; recommending (they say) sheer September-methods, patience being worn out; and that the Jacobin Brethren should, impromptu, work the Guillotine themselves! One sees him still, in Engravings: mounted on a table; foot advanced, body contorted; a bald, rude, slope-browed, infuriated visage of the canine species, the eyes starting

¹ Hist. Parl. xxv. 25, &c.

²[Marseilles began to show signs of restlessness as early as April 22nd; (Carlyle has got dreadfully ahead of his subject at this part of the book, and his chronology becomes wild, and never quite recovers). It was levying troops of its own accord; the Convention sent for its *Maire*, and forbade the levy (Aulard, Recueil, iii. 382).]

from their sockets; in his puissant right-hand the brandished dagger, or horse-pistol, as some give it; other dog-visages kindling under him:—a man not likely to end well! However, the Guillotine was *not* got together impromptu, that day, 'on the Pont Saint-Clair,' or elsewhere; but indeed continued lying rusty in its loft: ¹ Nièvre-Chol with military went about, rumbling cannon, in the most confused manner; and the 'nine-hundred prisoners' received no hurt. So distracted is Lyons grown, with its cannons rumbling. Convention Commissioners must be sent thither forthwith: if even they can appease it, and keep the Guillotine in its loft? ²

Consider finally if, on all these mad jarrings of the Southern Cities, and of France generally, a traitorous Crypto-Royalist class is not looking and watching; ready to strike in, at the right season! Neither is there bread; neither is there soap: see the Patriot women selling out sugar, at a just rate of twenty-two *sous* per pound! Citizen Representatives, it were verily well that your quarrels finished, and the reign of Perfect Felicity began.

CHAPTER III

GROWING SHRILL

ON the whole, one cannot say that the Girondins are wanting to themselves, so far as good-will might go. They prick assiduously into the sore-places of the Mountain; from principle, and also from Jesuitism.

¹ Hist. Parl. xxiv. 385-93; xxvi. 229, &c.

² [The first Commissioners of the Convention to Lyons (of whom Boissy d'Anglas was one) had to deal, after Jan. 30th, with a considerable Royalist reaction there; domiciliary visits were instituted and over 300 persons imprisoned. Chalier had been beaten for the Mayoralty by Nivière- (not Nièvre-) Chol, on whose resignation another Moderate was elected; but this election was quashed by the new Convention Commissioners, Barère and Legendre (who arrived in March). This produced great rage in Lyons among all but the few extreme Radicals. More Convention Commissioners were sent, including Dubois-Crancé, but failed to keep the Radicals in power or the Moderates in check. At last on May 29th the so-called 'Girondin' Insurrection in Lyons broke out, and, on the news of June 2nd, became a small civil war (*vid. infr.*, 72 *sqq.*).

In Tallien's report to the Convention on the commencement of troubles in Lyons, read on Feb. 25th, the jealousy of starving and ruined Paris against still comparatively prosperous Lyons is manifest in every line (*see* Aulard, *Recueil*, ii. 198; Mortimer-Ternaux, vi. 250).]

Besides September, of which there is now little to be made except effervescence, we discern two sore-places where the Mountain often suffers: Marat, and Orléans Égalité. Squalid Marat, for his own sake and for the Mountain's, is assaulted ever and anon; held up to France, as a squalid bloodthirsty Portent, inciting to the pillage of shops; of whom let the Mountain have the credit! The Mountain murmurs, ill at ease: this 'Maximum of Patriotism,' how shall they either own him or disown him? ¹ As for Marat personally, he, with his fixed-idea, remains invulnerable to such things; nay the People's-friend is very evidently rising in importance, as his befriended People rises. No shrieks now, when he goes to speak; occasional applauses rather, furtherance which breeds confidence. The day when the Girondins proposed to 'decree him accused' (*décréter d'accusation*, as they phrase it) for that February Paragraph, of 'hanging up a Foresteller or two at the door-lintels,' Marat proposes to have *them* 'decreed insane;' and, descending the Tribune-steps, is heard to articulate these most unsenatorial ejaculations: "*Les cochons, les imbécilles, Pigs, idiots!*" Oftentimes he croaks harsh sarcasm, having really a rough rasping tongue, and a very deep fund of contempt for fine outsides; and once or twice, he even laughs, nay 'explodes into laughter, *rit aux éclats*,' at the gentilities and superfine airs of these Girondin "men of statesmanship," with their pedantries, plausibilities, pusillanimities: "these two years," says he, "you have been whining about attacks, and plots, and danger from Paris; and you have not a scratch to show for yourselves." ²—Danton gruffly rebukes him, from time to time: a Maximum of Patriotism, whom one can neither own nor disown! ³

¹[See Danton's speech, Sept. 25th '92 (Stephens' Orators, vol. ii.), in which he avows that he is no Maratist, does not like Marat, and compares him to Royou the extreme Royalist. Robespierre in his reply to Louvet (Nov. 4th) is equally careful to clear himself from the accusation of acquaintance with Marat. The 'pillage of shops' refers to the article in *L'Ami* of Feb. 25th (*vid. supr.*, p. 5).]

²Moniteur, Séance du 20 Mai 1793.

³[Danton's position was becoming an awkward one; as a statesman he wished for order and peace, but, like Mirabeau, he at times believed himself compelled to use the Marats and Héberts, in order to keep his popularity. The two things were incompatible, and, while he was hesitating, more violent men gradually deprived him of his power over Paris. He left Paris, on his second mission to Belgium, Jan. 31st, and returned on Feb. 18th.]

But the second sore-place of the Mountain is this anomalous Monseigneur Equality Prince d'Orléans. Behold these men, says the Gironde; with a whilom Bourbon Prince among them: they are creatures of the D'Orléans Faction; they will have Philippe made King; one King no sooner guillotined than another made in his stead! Girondins have moved, Buzot moved long ago, from principle and also from jesuitism, that the whole race of Bourbons should be marched forth from the soil of France; this Prince Égalité to bring up the rear. Motions which might produce some effect on the public;—which the Mountain, ill at ease, knows not what to do with.

And poor Orléans Égalité himself, for one begins to pity even him, what does he do with them? The disowned of all parties, the rejected and foolishly bedrifted hither and thither, to what corner of Nature can he now drift with advantage? Feasible hope remains not for him: unfeasible hope, in pallid doubtful glimmers, there may still come, bewildering, not cheering or illuminating, —from the Dumouriez quarter; and how, if not the timewasted Orléans Égalité, then perhaps the young unworn Chartres Égalité might rise to be a kind of King? Sheltered, if shelter it be, in the clefts of the Mountain, poor Égalité will wait: one refuge in Jacobinism, one in Dumouriez and Counter-Revolution, are there not two chances? However, the look of him, Dame Genlis¹ says, is grown gloomy; sad to see. Sillery² also, the Genlis's Husband, who hovers about the Mountain, not on it, is in a bad way. Dame Genlis has come to Raincy, out of England and Bury St. Edmunds, in these days; being summoned by Égalité, with her young charge, Mademoiselle Égalité,³—that so Mademoiselle might not be counted among Emigrants and hardly dealt with. But it

¹[For Madame de Genlis, *vid. supr.*, i. 380, *infr.*, iii. 38.]

²[The Comte de Genlis, afterwards Marquis de Sillery, was deputy to the Constituent and Convention, and one of the chief of the so-called 'Orléanist' party in the former; guillotined Oct. 31st '93. He was separated from his wife, but remained upon good terms with her till this period.]

³[“Mdlle Égalité” (or rather Princess Adélaïde of Orléans), born 1777, joined her brother the Duc de Chartres (afterwards King Louis-Philippe) in Switzerland after her father's death, and also led a wandering life; she contributed much to put her brother on the throne in 1830, and died a few weeks before the Revolution of 1848 (*vid. infr.*, iii. 38).]

proves a ravelled business : Genlis and charge find that they must retire to the Netherlands ; must wait on the Frontiers, for a week or two ; till Monseigneur, by Jacobin help, get it wound up. 'Next morning,' says Dame Genlis, 'Monseigneur, gloomier than ever, gave me his arm, to lead me to the carriage. I was greatly troubled ; Mademoiselle burst into tears ; her Father was pale and trembling. After I had got seated, he stood immovable at the carriage-door, with his eyes fixed on me ; his mournful and painful look seemed to implore pity ;—" *Adieu, Madame !*" said he. The altered sound of his voice completely overcame me ; unable to utter a word, I held out my hand ; he grasped it close ; then turning, and advancing sharply towards the postilions, he gave them a sign, and we rolled away.'¹

Nor are Peace-makers wanting ; of whom likewise we mention two ; one fast on the crown of the Mountain, the other not yet alighted anywhere : Danton and Barrère. Ingenious Barrère, Old-Constituent and Editor, from the slopes of the Pyrenees, is one of the usefullest men of this Convention, in his way. Truth may lie on both sides, on either side, or on neither side ; my friends, ye must give and take : for the rest, success to the winning side ! This is the motto of Barrère. Ingenious, almost genial ; quick-sighted, supple, graceful ; a man that will prosper. Scarcely Belial in the assembled Pandemonium was plausibler to ear and eye. An indispensable man : in the great *Art of Varnish* he may be said to seek his fellow. Has there an explosion arisen, as many do arise, a confusion, unsightliness, which no tongue can speak of, nor eye look on ; give it to Barrère ; Barrère shall be Committee-Reporter of it ; you shall see it transmute itself into a regularity, into the very beauty and improvement that was needed. Without one such man, we say, how were this Convention bested ? Call him not, as exaggerative Mercier does, 'the

¹Genlis, Mémoires (London, 1825), iv. 118. [The first emigration of Mme de Genlis with the Princess was Oct. 11th '91 ; they returned to France Nov. '92. Madame does not give the exact date in November when they reached Paris, but immediately on their arrival the Duke sent them off to Belgium, where they remained till March 31st '93 (at Tournay).]

greatest liar in France : ' nay it may be argued there is not truth enough in him to make a real lie of. Call him, with Burke, Anacreon of the Guillotine, and a man serviceable to this Convention.

The other Peace-maker whom we name is Danton. Peace, O peace with one another ! cries Danton often enough : Are we not alone against the world ; a little band of brothers ? Broad Danton is loved by all the Mountain ; but they think him too easy-tempered, deficient in suspicion : he has stood between Dumouriez and much censure, anxious not to exasperate our only General : in the shrill tumult Danton's strong voice reverberates, for union and pacification. Meetings there are ; dinings with the Girondins : it is so pressingly essential that there be union. But the Girondins are haughty and respectable : this Titan Danton is not a man of Formulas, and there rests on him a shadow of September. "Your Girondins have no confidence in me : " this is the answer a conciliatory Meillan gets from him ; to all the arguments and pleadings this conciliatory Meillan can bring, the repeated answer is, "*Ils n'ont point de confiance.*"¹—The tumult will get ever shriller ; rage is growing pale.

In fact, what a pang is it to the heart of a Girondin, this first withering probability that the despicable unphilosophic anarchic Mountain, after all, may triumph ! Brutal Septemberers, a fifth-floor Tallien, 'a Robespierre without an idea in his head,' as Condorcet says, 'or a feeling in his heart : ' and yet we, the flower of France, cannot stand against them ; behold the sceptre departs from us ; from us and goes to them ! Eloquence, Philo-

¹ Mémoires de Meillan, Représentant du Peuple (Paris, 1823), p. 51. [Meillan was deputy for the Basses-Pyrénées, proscribed with the Girondins, escaped and reappeared in the Convention after Thermidor. His 'Mémoires' are specially valuable for the events of May '93. The story of the meeting of Danton with the Girondin leaders at Sceaux in Nov. '92, though repeated by Mr. Belloc (198), is probably apocryphal ; Danton would possibly have welcomed a reconciliation with them as late as March 29th ; Madame Roland, in every line of whose writings bitter hatred of Danton is visible, no doubt did much to keep them from any such reconciliation : all March Danton strove for strong government, while the Girondins, to keep their popularity, tried to outdo him in violent motions, instead of uniting with him, and on April 1st the storm broke (see Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 297 ; *vid. infr.*, iii. 42).]

sophism, Respectability avail not: 'against Stupidity the very gods fight to no purpose,

'Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens!'

Shrill are the plaints of Louvet; his thin existence all acidified into rage, and preternatural insight of suspicion. Wroth is young Barbaroux; wroth and scornful. Silent, like a Queen with the asp on her bosom, sits the wife of Roland; Roland's Accounts never yet got audited, his name become a byword. Such is the fortune of war, especially of revolution. The great gulf of Tophet, and Tenth of August, opened itself at the magic of your eloquent voice; and lo now, it will not close at your voice! It is a dangerous thing such magic. The Magician's Famulus got hold of the forbidden Book, and summoned a goblin: *Plait-il*, What is your will? said the goblin. The Famulus, somewhat struck, bade him fetch water: the swift goblin fetched it, pail in each hand; but lo, would not cease fetching it! Desperate, the Famulus shrieks at him, smites at him, cuts him in two; lo, *two* goblin water-carriers ply; and the house will be swum away in Deucalion Deluges.

CHAPTER IV

FATHERLAND IN DANGER

OR rather we will say, this Senatorial war might have lasted long; and Party tugging and throttling with Party might have suppressed and smothered one another, in the ordinary bloodless Parliamentary way; on one condition: that France had been at least able to exist, all the while. But this Sovereign People has a digestive faculty, and cannot do without bread. Also we are at war, and must have victory; at war with Europe, with Fate and Famine: and behold, in the spring of the year, all victory deserts us.

Dumouriez had his outposts stretched as far as Aix-la-Chapelle, and the beautifullest plan for pouncing on Holland, by stratagem, flat-bottomed boats and rapid intrepidity; wherein too he had prospered so far; but unhappily could prosper no further.

Aix-la-Chapelle is lost : Maestricht will not surrender to mere smoke and noise : the flat-bottomed boats must launch themselves again, and return the way they came.¹ Steady now, ye rapidly intrepid men ; retreat with firmness, Parthian-like ! Alas, were it General Miranda's fault ; were it the War-minister's fault ; or were it Dumouriez's own fault and that of Fortune : enough, there is nothing for it but retreat,—well if it be not even flight ; for already terror-stricken cohorts and stragglers pour off, not waiting for order ; flow disastrous, as many as ten thousand of them, without halt till they see France again.² Nay worse : Dumouriez himself is perhaps secretly turning traitor ? Very sharp is the tone in which he writes to our Committees. Commissioners and Jacobin Pillagers have done such incalculable mischief ; Hassenfratz sends neither cartridges nor clothing ; shoes we have, deceptively 'soled with wood and pasteboard.' Nothing in short is right. Danton and Lacroix, when it was they that were Commissioners, would needs join Belgium to France ;—of which Dumouriez might have made the prettiest little Duchy for his own sacred behoof ! With all these things the General is wroth ; and writes to us in a sharp tone.³ Who knows what this hot little General is meditating ? Dumouriez Duke of Belgium or Brabant ; and say, Égalité the Younger

¹ [While Dumouriez was preparing to advance towards Maestricht the situation in Belgium was becoming desperate ; after Jemappes orders had been issued for a Belgian National Convention ; the *Montagnards* were determined that this should never meet ; and, by their commissioners, they jobbed and bullied the electors accordingly. This was bitter for Dumouriez, who honestly wished to see Belgium free, and perhaps drove him towards his treason ; but his resistance was in vain, and the union of the various Netherland provinces to France was voted by the French Convention early in March.]

Meanwhile the Austrians were re-forming on the lower Rhine, Catharine of Russia was coming to terms as to Poland with Frederick William, whose hands would soon be free to attack France again. Dumouriez's own army was in a dreadful condition, the reorganisation begun by Dubois-Crancé's measures of February had not had time to work ; so when Dumouriez crossed the Dutch frontier (Feb. 17th), and sent Miranda to besiege Maestricht, he was unable to supply any siege guns, and unable himself to cross the Meuse. On March 8th the French Government ordered him to retreat, and on the 12th Carnot was sent as Commissioner to his army—a mission which lasted till August. Coburg followed up the French retreat hard (*vid. infr.*, iii. 29).]

² Dumouriez, iv. 16-73.

³ [Dumouriez' letter of March 12th to the Convention is called by Sorel (iii. 339) 'a manifesto of Civil war.']

King of France: there were an end for our Revolution!—Committee of Defence gazes, and shakes its head: who except Danton, defective in suspicion, could still struggle to be of hope?

And General Custine is rolling back from the Rhine Country;¹ conquered Mentz will be reconquered, the Prussians gathering round to bombard it with shot and shell. Mentz may resist, Commissioner Merlin, the Thionviller, 'making sallies, at the head of the besieged;'—resist to the death; but not longer than that.² How sad a reverse for Mentz! Brave Forster, brave Lux planted Liberty-trees, amid *ça-ira-ing* music, in the snow-slush of last winter, there; and made Jacobin Societies; and got the Territory incorporated with France; they came hither to Paris, as Deputies or Delegates, and have their eighteen francs a-day: but see, before once the Liberty-tree is got rightly in leaf, Mentz is changing into an explosive crater; vomiting fire, bevomited with fire!

Neither of these men shall again see Mentz; they have come hither only to die.³ Forster has been round the Globe; he saw Cook perish under Owyhee clubs; but like this Paris he has yet

¹[Dec.—April. Custine had to face both the Prussians under Brunswick, and the Austrians under Würmser; his army, enriched by the spoils of the Palatinate, had become a horde of brigands. On Dec. 2nd '92 Brunswick retook Frankfort. In March he crossed the Rhine at Bacharach and Lorch, and gradually drove Custine out of all the Palatinate strongholds. Custine retired on Landau April 1st, and was at once threatened with accusations of treason. Robespierre, however, defended him for the time, and he was shortly after sent to replace Dampierre in the Army of the North.]

²[Dec.—July 23rd.]

³[The Republic of Mainz was short-lived, nor was Forster by any means a typical founder of it. He was a naturalist, who had sailed with Captain Cook, and afterwards became librarian to the Elector of Mainz. He was somewhat more of a German patriot than the majority of the founders of the "Jacobin Club" of Mainz, such as Boehmer, Lux, etc.; even of these only the very smallest (and noisiest) minority had desired incorporation with France; Forster however concluded that the left bank of the Rhine would probably fall to her. The Prussian troops began a slow and desultory siege of Mainz in December; the place was defended with extreme tenacity, not only by Merlin and Rewbell, the Convention Commissioners, but by Kléber, d'Oyré, Meusnier, Aubert-Dubayet and Marigny. The bombardment began in June, and the capitulation was signed on July 23rd, after extreme privations had been endured. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and engaged not to serve against the allies again for a year; in fulfilment of which pledge the Convention afterwards sent them to La Vendée (but *vid. infr.*, iii. 80.)]

seen or suffered nothing. Poverty escorts him : from home there can nothing come, except Job's-news ; the eighteen daily francs, which we here as Deputy or Delegate with difficulty ' touch,' are in paper *assignats*, and sink fast in value. Poverty, disappointment, inaction, obloquy ; the brave heart slowly breaking ! Such is Forster's lot. For the rest, Demoiselle Théroigne smiles on you in the Soirées ; ' a beautiful brownlocked face,' of an exalted temper ; and contrives to keep her carriage. Prussian Trenck, the poor subterranean Baron, jargons and jangles in an unmelodious manner. Thomas Paine's face is red-pustuled, ' but the eyes uncommonly bright.' Convention Deputies ask you to dinner : very courteous ; and ' we all play at *plumpsack*.'¹ ' It 'is the Explosion and New-creation of a World,' says Forster ; ' and the actors in it, such small mean objects, buzzing round 'one like a handful of flies.'—

Likewise there is war with Spain.² Spain will advance through the gorges of the Pyrenees ; rustling with Bourbon banners, jingling with artillery and menace. And England has donned the red coat ; and marches,³ with Royal Highness of York,—whom some once spake of inviting to be our King. Changed that humour now : and ever more changing ; till no hatefuller thing walk this Earth than a denizen of that tyrannous Island ; and Pitt be declared and decreed, with effervescence, '*L'ennemi*

¹ Forster's Briefwechsel, ii. 514, 460, 631.

² [The Spanish Nation threw itself heartily into the war and made a far better show in it than its Government had expected. Godoy was in fact carried off his legs by a wave of popular feeling, excited by the priests against an apostate and regicide nation : Spanish feeling had been also profoundly excited by the loose talk of the Jacobin clubs in Perpignan and Bayonne, who coolly prepared measures for revolutionising Spain. Carnot had been on mission to the Pyrenees in Dec. and Jan., but without much success, and the first *élan* of the Spanish armies carried them up to the walls of Bayonne and Perpignan ; Bellegarde fell (June 14th) to the Spanish General Ricardos (*vid. infr.*, iii. 153).]

³ [The English plans were simple : to subsidise Austria and, if possible, Prussia also, for the defence of Belgium ; to subsidise Portugal, Spain, Sardinia, Naples ; to utilise the Royalist movements in the South ; to send an army of 40,000 English and Hanoverians to advance from Holland, by the coast road, on Dunkirk. Dunkirk was to be England's Continental share of the spoil ; for the rest she would recoup herself in the West Indies. The advent of Thugut to power in Austria (March 27th) spoilt these plans, for Thugut had no intention of really defending Belgium, unless it could be increased by a large strip of French Flanders ; with Thugut's advent also vanished the last shred of Austrian interest in the fate of Marie Antoinette and her children.]

du genre humain,¹ The enemy of mankind; and, very singular to say, you make order that no Soldier of Liberty give quarter to an Englishman. Which order, however, the Soldier of Liberty does but partially obey. We will take no Prisoners then, say the Soldiers of Liberty; they shall all be 'Deserters' that we take.² It is a frantic order; and attended with inconvenience. For surely, if you give no quarter, the plain issue is that you will get none; and so the business become as broad as it was long.—Our 'recruitment of Three-hundred Thousand men,' which was the decreed force for this year, is like to have work enough laid to its hand.

So many enemies come wending on; penetrating through throats of mountains, steering over the salt sea; towards all points of our territory; rattling chains at us. Nay, worst of all: there is an enemy within our own territory itself. In the early days of March, the Nantes Postbags do not arrive;³ there arrive only instead of them Conjecture, Apprehension, bodeful wind of Rumour. The bodefullest proves true. Those fanatic Peoples of La Vendée will no longer keep under: their fire of insurrection, heretofore dissipated with difficulty, blazes out anew, after the King's Death, as a wide conflagration; not riot, but civil war. Your Cathelineaus, your Stofflets, Charettes, are other men than was thought: behold how their Peasants, in mere russet and hodden, with their rude arms, rude array, with their fanatic Gaelic frenzy and wild-yelling battle-cry of *God and the King*, dash at us like a dark whirlwind; and blow the best-disciplined Nationals we can get into panic and *sauve-qui-peut!* Field after field is theirs; one sees not where it will end. Commandant Santerre may be sent there; but with non-effect; he might as well have returned and brewed beer.

It has become peremptorily necessary that a National Conven-

¹[It was on Aug. 7th that this remarkably childish decree was passed, on an amendment of Couthon's to a motion that Pitt was outside the pale of nations, and that any one might assassinate him (who could).]

²See Dampmartin, *Événemens*, ii. 213-30.

³[The actual news of the insurrection at Machedoul did not arrive till March 18th. (For La Vendée see Appendix.)]

tion cease arguing, and begin acting. Yield one party of you to the other, and do it swiftly. No theoretic outlook is here, but the close certainty of ruin; the very day that is passing over us must be provided for.

It was Friday the Eighth of March when this Job's-post from Dumouriez, thickly preceded and escorted by so many other Job's-posts, reached the National Convention. Blank enough are most faces. Little will it avail whether our Septemberers be punished or go unpunished; if Pitt and Cobourg are coming in, with one punishment for us all; nothing now between Paris itself and the Tyrants but a doubtful Dumouriez, and hosts in loose-flowing loud retreat!—Danton the Titan rises in this hour,¹ as always in the hour of need. Great is his voice, reverberating from the domes:—Citizen-Representatives, shall we not, in such crisis of Fate, lay aside discords? Reputation: O what is the reputation of this man or of that? “*Que mon nom soit flétri; que la France soit libre*: Let my name be blighted; let France be free!” It is necessary now again that France rise, in swift vengeance, with her million right-hands, with her heart as of one man. Instantaneous recruitment in Paris; let every Section of Paris furnish its thousands; every Section of France! Ninety-six Commissioners of us, two for each Section of the Forty-eight, they must go forthwith, and tell Paris what the Country needs of her. Let Eighty more of us be sent, post-haste, over France; to spread the fire-cross, to call forth the might of men. Let the Eighty also be on the road, before this sitting rise. Let them go, and think what their errand is. Speedy Camp of Fifty-thousand between Paris and the North Frontier; for Paris will pour forth her volunteers! Shoulder to shoulder; one strong universal death-defiant rising and rushing; we shall hurl back these Sons of Night yet again; and France, in spite of the world, be free!²

¹[March 8th.]

²Moniteur (in Hist. Parl. xxv. 6) [*i.e.*, *Moniteur*, March 10th. Danton added in this great speech some partial defence of Dumouriez: ‘It is not all his fault, ‘you promised him 30,000 more men on Feb. 1st, but not a man has reached him: ‘we must send a new army into Belgium. Dumouriez has his faults, but he is dear ‘to the soldiers.’ Carlyle mixes up some phrases from Danton’s later speech of

—So sounds the Titan's voice : into all Section-houses ; into all French hearts. Sections sit in Permanence, for recruitment, enrolment, that very night. Convention Commissioners, on swift wheels, are carrying the fire-cross from Town to Town, till all France blaze.

And so there is Flag of *Fatherland in Danger* waving from the Townhall, Black Flag from the top of Notre-Dame Cathedral ; there is Proclamation, hot eloquence ; Paris rushing out once again to strike its enemies down. That, in such circumstances, Paris was in no mild humour can be conjectured. Agitated streets ; still more agitated round the Salle de Manège ! Feuillans-Terrace crowds itself with angry Citizens, angrier Citizenesses ; Varlet perambulates with portable chair : ejaculations of no measured kind, as to perfidious fine-spoken *Hommes d'état*, friends of Dumouriez, secret-friends of Pitt and Cobourg, burst from the hearts and lips of men. To fight the enemy ? Yes, and even to 'freeze him with terror, *glacer d'effroi* : ' but first to have domestic Traitors punished ! Who are they that, carping and quarrelling, in their jesuitic most *moderate* way, seek to shackle the Patriotic movement ? That divide France against Paris, and poison public opinion in the Departments ? That when we ask for bread, and a Maximum fixed-price, treat us with lectures on Free-trade in grains ? Can the human stomach satisfy itself with lectures on Free-trade ; and are we to fight the Austrians in a moderate manner, or in an immoderate ? This Convention must be *purged*.¹

"Set up a swift Tribunal for Traitors, a Maximum for Grains : " thus speak with energy the Patriot Volunteers, as they defile through the Convention Hall, just on the wing to the Frontiers ;

April with those of this earlier one (*see* Stephens' Orators, Danton, March 8th, April 1st).

The Sections of Paris were slow to respond to Danton's call ; most of their Revolutionary Committees were entirely "run" by the fanatics of the *Commune*, and indicated that they were more afraid of domestic traitors than of the Austrians (*i. e.*, wanted to make a new September massacre) and demanded the establishment of a Tribunal swifter than that of Aug. 17th. This naturally led to the *émeute* of March 10th (*see* Aulard, Recueil, ii. 284-6.)

¹[The extreme Radicals actually issued from the Jacobin club a manifesto on March 9th, fixing 5 A.M. on 10th for the commencement of the Insurrection. The first thing to be attacked was the Girondin printing presses : this was the only part of the business which came off (Mortimer-Ternaux, vi. 184-5).]

—perorating in that heroical Cambyses' vein of theirs : beshouted by the Galleries and Mountain ; bemurmured by the Right-side and Plain. Nor are prodigies wanting : lo, while a Captain of the Section Poissonnière perorates with vehemence about Dumouriez, Maximum and Crypto-Royalist Traitors, and his troop beat chorus with him, waving their Banner overhead, the eye of a Deputy discerns, in this same Banner, that the *cravates* or streamers of it have Royal fleurs-de-lys ! The Section-Captain shrieks ; his troop shriek, horrorstruck, and 'trample the Banner under foot : ' seemingly the work of some Crypto-Royalist Plotter ? Most probable :¹—or perhaps at bottom, only the *old* Banner of the Section, manufactured prior to the Tenth of August, when such streamers were according to rule !²

History, looking over the Girondin Memoirs, anxious to disentangle the truth of them from the hysterics, finds these days of March, especially this Sunday the Tenth of March, play a great part. Plots, plots ; a plot for murdering the Girondin Deputies ; Anarchists and Secret-Royalists plotting, in hellish concert, for that end ! The far greater part of which is hysterics. What we do find indisputable is, that Louvet and certain Girondins were apprehensive they might be murdered on Saturday, and did not go to the evening sitting ; but held council with one another, each inciting his fellow to do something resolute, and end these Anarchists : to which, however, Petion, opening the window, and finding the night very wet, answered only, "*Ils ne feront rien,*" and 'composedly resumed his violin,' says Louvet ;³ thereby, with soft Lydian tweedledeeing, to wrap himself against eating cares. Also that Louvet felt especially liable to being killed ; that several Girondins went abroad to seek beds : liable to being killed ; but were not. Further that, in very truth, Journalist Deputy Gorsas, poisoner of the Departments, he and his Printer

¹ Choix des Rapports, xi. 277. [March 12th.]

² Hist. Parl. xxv. 72.

³ Louvet, Mém. p. 74. [*'Il pleut,' dit-il, 'il n'y aura rien'* (I can find no mention of Petion's violin in this passage, nor in Meillan, with whose account I thought at first Carlyle might have confused Louvet's).]

had their houses broken into¹ (by a tumult of Patriots, among whom redcapped Varlet, American Fournier loom forth, in the darkness of the rain and riot); had their wives put in fear; their presses,² types and circumjacent equipments beaten to ruin; no Mayor interfering in time; Gorsas himself escaping, pistol in hand, 'along the coping of the back wall.' Further that Sunday, the morrow, was not a workday; and the streets were more agitated than ever: Is it a new September, then, that these Anarchists intend? Finally, that no September came;—and also that hysterics, not unnaturally, had reached almost their acme.³

Vergniaud denounces and deplures; in sweetly turned periods.⁴ Section Bonconseil, *Good-counsel* so-named, not *Mauconseil* or *Ill-counsel* as it once was,—does a far notabler thing: demands that Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, and other denunciatory fine-spoken Girondins, to the number of Twenty-two, be put under arrest! Section Good-counsel, so named ever since the Tenth of August, is sharply rebuked, like a Section of *Ill-counsel*:⁵ but its word is spoken, and will not fall to the ground.

In fact, one thing strikes us in these poor Girondins: their fatal shortness of vision; nay fatal poorness of character, for that is the root of it. They are as strangers to the People they would

¹[March 10th.]

²[Gorsas' printing press was in Rue Tiquetonne; what were the exact further designs of the Insurgents is not clear, but it is evident there was an attempt at surrounding the Convention, such as was successful eleven weeks later.]

³Meillan, pp. 23, 24; Louvet, pp. 71-80.

⁴[March 13th. Carlyle can hardly have read Vergniaud's speech of March 13th, which was anything but 'sweetly turned periods,' but an unusually brave and outspoken outburst against the Insurrectionists. It is there that the phrase occurs of the 'Revolution devouring its own children;' there that the members of the 'Committee of Insurrection' are denounced by name and a demand for their arrest put forward; there is made also an open demand that the minute books of the *Cordeliers* and Jacobins be produced in the Convention (*see* Stephens' Orators, vol. ii.)

Garat was forthwith ordered to arrest the Committee of Insurrection, and weakly replied that 'he couldn't find any Committee so called.' The *Café Corazza* all through March was the centre of this not very secret committee, whose leaders were Collot, Guzman, Desfieux, Proly, Lazowski, Chabot, and perhaps Tallien (three of these were foreigners). This Committee transferred its sittings to the old *Archevêché* in April. (*See* Schmidt, *Tableaux*, i. 146; Dauban, *Paris en 1793*, p. 97, *sqq.*)

⁵Moniteur (Séance du 12 Mars), 15 Mars.

govern; to the thing they have come to work in. Formulas, Philosophies, Respectabilities, what has been written in Books, and admitted by the Cultivated Classes: *this* inadequate *Scheme* of Nature's working is all that Nature, let her work as she will, can reveal to these men. So they perorate and speculate; and call on the Friends of Law, when the question is not Law or No-Law, but Life or No-Life. Pedants of the Revolution, if not Jesuits of it! Their Formalism is great; great also is their Egoism. France rising to fight Austria has been raised only by plot of the Tenth of March, to kill Twenty-two of *them*! This Revolution Prodigy, unfolding itself into terrific stature and articulation, by its own laws and Nature's, not by the laws of Formula, has become unintelligible, incredible as an impossibility, the 'waste chaos of a Dream.' A Republic founded on what we call the Virtues; on what we call the Decencies and Respectabilities: this they will have, and nothing but this. Whatsoever other Republic Nature and Reality send, shall be considered as not sent; as a kind of Nightmare Vision, and thing non-extant; disowned by the Laws of Nature, and of Formula. Alas! dim for the best eyes is this Reality; and as for these men, they will not look at it with eyes at all, but only through 'facetted spectacles' of Pedantry, wounded Vanity; which yield the most portentous fallacious spectrum. Carping and complaining forever of Plots and Anarchy, they will do one thing; prove, to demonstration, that the Reality will not translate into their Formula; that they and their Formula are incompatible with the Reality: and, in its dark wrath, the Reality will extinguish it and them! What a man *kens* he *cans*. But the beginning of a man's doom is, that vision be withdrawn from him; that he see not the reality, but a false spectrum of the reality; and following that, step darkly, with more or less velocity, downwards to the utter Dark; to Ruin, which is the great Sea of Darkness, whither all falsehoods, winding or direct, continually flow!

This Tenth of March we may mark as an epoch in the Girondin destinies; the rage so exasperated itself, the miscon-

ception so darkened itself.¹ Many desert the sittings; many come to them armed.² An honourable Deputy, setting out after breakfast, must now, besides taking his Notes, see whether his Priming is in order.

Meanwhile with Dumouriez in Belgium it fares ever worse. Were it again General Miranda's fault, or some other's fault, there is no doubt whatever but the 'Battle of Nerwinden,' on the 18th of March, is lost; and our rapid retreat has become a far too rapid one.³ Victorious Cobourg, with his Austrian prickers, hangs like a dark cloud on the rear of us: Dumouriez never off horseback night or day; engagement every three hours; our whole discomfited Host rolling rapidly inwards, full of rage, suspicion and *sauve-qui-peut!* And then Dumouriez himself, what his intents may be? Wicked seemingly and not charitable! His despatches to Committee openly denounce a factious Convention, for the woes it has brought on France and him. And his speeches—for the General has no reticence! The execution of the Tyrant this Dumouriez calls the Murder of the King. Danton and Lacroix, flying thither as Com-

¹[March 10th was really fatal to the Gironde because of the support which most of its leaders gave to the creation of the *Tribunal Criminel Extraordinaire* (*vid. infr.*, iii. 32): also because on the same day Danton's motion for the creation of a strong Committee of Government, in which they might then have had a share, was shelved, to reappear as the motion for the *Comité de Salut Public* on April 6th, when it was too late for them. The 'authorities,' so called, were as weak now as in Sept. '92. Garat, the new Minister of the Interior on whom they henceforward relied (March 14th—Aug. 15th), was a weaker edition of Roland. He was born 1749, had been Professor of History at the *Lycée*, deputy to States-General, Minister of Justice on Danton's resignation, Oct. '92, was afterwards ambassador to Naples '98, Senator and Count of the Empire, died 1833.]

²Meillan, *Mém.* 85, 24. ['The *Côté Droit* was deserted, we were only 44 . . . for some time nearly all of us were armed with sabres, pistols, etc.' This refers apparently to March 10th.]

³[The retreat once begun had been a disastrous one (March 8th—18th); the army was thoroughly dispirited: Dumouriez, in order to give it heart, determined to risk a battle for which his numbers, some 47,000, were not too small. Coburg however wisely posted himself on the heights of Neerwinden; the French right and centre, under Valence and the Duc de Chartres, charged with the greatest valour, and won a footing on the heights, but Miranda on the left was chased from the field by the young Archduke Karl; to prevent his flank being uncovered Dumouriez had to withdraw his centre and left again, and the retreat was continued, *viâ* Louvain and Brussels, on Valenciennes (reached March 27th).]

missioners¹ once more, return very doubtful; even Danton now doubts.

Three Jacobin Missionaries, Proly, Dubuisson, Pereyra, have flown forth; sped by a wakeful Mother Society: they are struck dumb to hear the General speak. The Convention, according to this General, consists of three-hundred scoundrels and four-hundred imbeciles: France cannot do without a King. "But we have executed our King." "And what is it to me," hastily cries Dumouriez, a General of no reticence, "whether the King's name be *Ludovicus* or *Jacobus*?" "Or *Philippus*!" rejoins Proly;—and hastens to report progress. Over the Frontiers such hope is there.²

CHAPTER V

SANSCULOTTISM ACCOUTRED

LET us look, however, at the grand internal Sansculottism and Revolution Prodigy, whether it stirs and waxes: there and not elsewhere may hope still be for France. The Revolution Prodigy, as Decree after Decree issues from the Mountain, like creative *fiats*, accordant with the nature of the Thing,—is shaping itself rapidly, in these days, into terrific stature and articulation, limb after limb. Last March, 1792, we saw all France flowing in blind terror; shutting town-barriers, boiling pitch for Brigands: happier, this March, that it is a seeing terror; that a creative Mountain exists, which can say *fiat*! Recruitment proceeds with fierce celerity: nevertheless our Volunteers hesitate to set out, till Treason be punished at home; they do not fly to the frontiers; but only fly hither and thither, demanding and denouncing. The Mountain must speak new *fiat*, and new *fiats*.

¹[Danton's third mission to Belgium; he reached Dumouriez on 19th, the morning after Neerwinden, found there was nothing to be made of him, and returned at once to denounce him.]

²[Proly, Pereira and Dubuisson were not sent to Dumouriez—they had been sent to revolutionise Holland (when it should have been conquered) and met the General on their return from this fruitless errand, March 26th. Danton in his speech, April 1st, confirms the fact of Dumouriez's excellent criticism on the composition of the Convention, adding, however, that he had not heard the words himself.]

And does it not speak such? Take, as first example, those *Comités Révolutionnaires* for the arrestment of Persons Suspect. Revolutionary Committee, of Twelve chosen Patriots, sits in every Township of France; examining the Suspect, seeking arms, making domiciliary visits and arrestments;—caring, generally, that the Republic suffer no detriment. Chosen by universal suffrage, each in its Section, they are a kind of elixir of Jacobinism; some Forty-four Thousand of them awake and alive over France!¹ In Paris and all Towns, every house-door must have the names of the inmates legibly printed on it, 'at a height not exceeding five feet from the ground;' every Citizen must produce his certificatory *Carte de Civisme*, signed by Section-President;² every man be ready to give account of the faith that is in him. Persons Suspect had as well depart this soil of Liberty! And yet departure too is bad: all Emigrants are declared Traitors,³ their property become National; they are 'dead in Law,'⁴—save indeed that for *our* behoof they shall

¹[The Revolutionary Committees of the 48 Sections of Paris (and of each *Commune* of France) were the small Committees which got themselves nominated first in June, July, Aug. '92 to guide the Insurrection against the Monarchy. They were intended to be temporary in character; but from Jan. '93 onwards such Committees are found (apart from the whole body of their sections) presenting petitions, etc. The various extreme Revolutionary measures, such as raising troops for the levy of 300,000 men (Feb. 24th), the arrest of suspected persons, and especially the granting of 'certificates of civism,' were put into their hands subject always to appeal to the *Commune*. Each Committee was ordered to correspond with the *Comité de Sûreté Générale* every ten days; and the members received three francs a day; until the passing of the 'law of the 40 sous' (Sept. 4th '93, *vid. infr.*, iii. 93) the Section meetings probably consisted of few people besides the Revolutionary Committees. Dutard (*see* Schmidt's *Tableaux*, vol. i. *passim*) continually speaks of these meetings as being the source of all disorder; 'if the Moderates ever get the upper hand in any section, the rowdy men come over from the next section, and outvote them.']

²[*Cartes de Civisme*, called also *Cartes de Sûreté*, were enforced by an order of the *Commune* April 29th '93, Garat feebly allowing it. They were made out by the Revolutionary Committees of the Section to which the man belonged, and the issue, examination and revocation of these certificates became the principal business of those bodies and the most potent agent of the Terror. Besides the signature of the President of the Section that of two other witnesses was required, who had to testify to the unspotted Radicalism of the applicant; a vote given for a Moderate at a municipal election, an expression of pity for 'the Tyrant' were enough to damn him. The cards had to be presented to any police officer who asked for them, and even in the *queues* at the Bakers' shops. Perrière, one of Garat's spies, speaks of the extreme difficulty of getting his *carte* made out (*see* Schmidt, i. 156, 355; ii. 79, 193).]

³[March 1st.]

⁴[*Vid. supr.*, ii. 190, note.]

‘live yet fifty years in Law,’ and what heritages may fall to them in that time become National too! A mad vitality of Jacobinism, with Forty-four Thousand centres of activity, circulates through all fibres of France.

Very notable also is the *Tribunal Extraordinaire*:¹ decreed by the Mountain;² some Girondins dissenting, for surely such a Court contradicts every formula;—other Girondins assenting, nay cooperating, for do not we all hate Traitors, O ye people of Paris?—Tribunal of the Seventeenth, in Autumn last, was swift; but this shall be swifter. Five Judges; a standing Jury, which is named from Paris and the Neighbourhood, that there be not delay in naming it: they are subject to no Appeal; to hardly any Law-forms, but must ‘get themselves convinced’ in all readiest ways; and for security are bound ‘to vote audibly;’ audibly, in the hearing of a Paris Public. This is the *Tribunal Extraordinaire*; which, in few months, getting into most lively action, shall be entitled *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*; as indeed it from the very first has entitled itself: with a Herman³ or a Dumas⁴ for Judge President, with a Fouquier-Tinville⁵ for

¹ *Moniteur*, No. 70 (du 11 Mars), No. 76, etc. [The great authority on the Revolutionary Tribunal (*Tribunal Révolutionnaire*) is M. Émile Campardon. The *Tribunal* of August 17th—Nov. 29th '92 was only a temporary one (*vid. supr.*, ii. 282). The new *Tribunal Criminel Extraordinaire* was to be permanent, and to take account of all cases of conspiracy against the nation. It was demanded by Carrier (then so unknown that the *Journal des Débats* calls him Cartier), and supported by Isnard and Danton: no doubt the Gironde hoped to use it to put down the *Montagne*: Lanjuinais courageously protested against its creation. On July 31st it was divided into two courts; on Sept. 14th into four; on Oct. 29th it is first called *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*. It then had two Presidents, 16 Judges and 60 Jurors. By the ‘law of 22 Prairial’ (June 10th '94) it could judge even members of the Convention without a decree. From April—Nov. '93 the monthly average was 13 condemnations to death; from Nov. '93—March '94, 65; then Ventôse (Feb. 19th—March 19th), 116 condemnations; Germinal (March 20th—April 19th), 155; Floréal (April 20th—May 19th), 355; Prairial 1st to 22nd (May 20th—June 10th), 281; Prairial 23rd to 9th Thermidor (June 11th—July 27th), 1,366; July 27th '94—Sept. 22nd '95, 166, nearly all these last being victims of the Thermidorian reaction.]

² [March 10th.]

³ [Herman (or Hermann), one of Robespierre's legal friends from Arras, born 1759, first President of *Tribunal*, resigned shortly before Thermidor: guillotined with Fouquier May 7th '95.]

⁴ [R. F. Dumas, another close follower of Robespierre, Vice-President of *Tribunal*; guillotined with Robespierre, 10th Thermidor.]

⁵ [Antoine-Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, born 1746, well educated by a rich peasant father, called to the Paris bar (*Châtelet*) 1774, married and had children (a daughter of his was living at Vervins in 1848); in 1783 Fouquier retired from practice and

Attorney-General, and a Jury of such as Citizen Leroi, who has surnamed himself *Dix-Août*, 'Leroi August-Tenth,' it will become the wonder of the world. Herein has Sansculottism fashioned for itself a Sword of Sharpness: a weapon magical; tempered in the Stygian hell-waters; to the edge of it all armour, and defence of strength or of cunning shall be soft; it shall mow down Lives and Brazen-gates; and the waving of it shed terror through the souls of men.

But speaking of an amorphous Sansculottism taking form, ought we not, above all things, to specify how the Amorphous gets itself a Head? Without metaphor, this Revolution Government continues hitherto in a very anarchic state. Executive Council of Ministers, Six in number, there is: but they, especially since Roland's retreat, have hardly known whether they were Ministers or not. Convention Committees sit supreme over them; but then each Committee as supreme as the others; Committee of Twenty-one, of Defence, of General Surety: simultaneous or successive, for specific purposes. The Convention alone is all-powerful,—especially if the Commune go with it; but is too numerous for an administrative body. Wherefore, in this perilous quick-whirling condition of the Republic, before the end of March¹ we obtain our small *Comité de Salut Public*; as it were, for miscellaneous accidental purposes requiring despatch;—as it proves, for a sort of universal supervision, and universal subjection. They are to report weekly, these new Committee-men; but to deliberate in secret. Their number is Nine, firm Patriots all, Danton one of them; renewable every month;—yet why not re-elect them if they turn out well? The flower of the matter is, that they are but nine; that they sit in secret. An insignificant-looking thing at first, this Committee; but with a principle of growth in it! Forwarded by fortune, by internal Jacobin energy, it will reduce all Com-

his history is obscure till Aug. 20th '92, when he wrote to C. Desmoulins asking for a place. Camille, who was distantly related to him, got him named Director of Juries on the *Tribunal* of Aug. 17th. He became Public Accuser to the new *Tribunal* at this date, and was guillotined May 7th '95 (Campardon, i. 13.)

¹[April 6th.]

mittees and the Convention itself to mute obedience, the Six Ministers to Six assiduous Clerks; and work its will on the Earth and under Heaven, for a season. A 'Committee of Public Salvation,' whereat the world still shrieks and shudders.¹

If we call that Revolutionary Tribunal a Sword, which Sansculottism has provided for itself, then let us call the 'Law of the Maximum'² a Provender-scrip, or Haversack, wherein, better or worse, some ration of bread may be found. It is true, Political Economy, Girondin free-trade, and all law of supply and demand, are hereby hurled topsyturvy: but what help? Patriotism must live; the 'cupidity of farmers' seems to have no bowels. Wherefore this Law of the Maximum, fixing the highest price of grains, is, with infinite effort, got passed;³ and

¹ *Moniteur*, No. 83 (du 24 Mars 1793), Nos. 86, 98, 99, 100. [*Vid. supr.*, ii. 279. It was during the debates on the King's trial (Jan. 3rd, on Kersaint's motion) that the name *Comité de Défense Générale* was first given to the revived 'Committee of 25.' Three members were to be elected to it by each of the principal Committees of the Convention. Its business was the War and all measures which could help the War. Its membership was divided, during the months of Jan., Feb., March, between Montagnards and Girondists. Now, on April 6th, on Isnard's motion it was reduced to 9 members (Danton, Barère, Cambon, Delmas, Bréard, Guyton-Morveau, Treilhard, Lacroix, Lindet), and its debates were to be secret; Gasparin and Saint-André joined it later. This Committee was re-elected May 10th and June 10th. It was entirely under Danton's influence and it represents his effort to govern France. There exists in the French archives (A. F. ii. 45-50) a series of registers of its deliberations: Danton's signature is comparatively infrequent, Cambon, Lindet, Barère and Guyton-Morveau are the most regular attendants. This bears out the tradition of Danton's laziness (see Mortimer-Ternaux, vi. 10; see Aulard, *Recueil des Actes et Monuments du Comité de Salut Public* (Paris 1889-91), ii. 83, 113; and (throughout) Gros, *Le Comité de Salut Public* (Paris, 1893), *vid. infr.*, iii. 71.)]

² [May 3rd.]

³ *Ibid.* (du 20 Avril, &c., to 20 Mai 1793.) [*The Maximum.* Carlyle probably here refers to the petition of the *Commune*, April 18th '93, in favour of a fixed price for all necessities of life, which had been hinted at by Saint-Just as early as Nov. 20th '92. There was nothing new in the idea, or in the partial or municipal enforcement of it. The harvest of '92 had not been a bad one (though not a very good one), and the Executive Council had, on Sept. 16th, issued a proclamation that all owners of grain stores should consider themselves simple trustees, that a register was to be kept of the quantity each man possessed, and requisitions made for the public market accordingly. The Convention at once voted 20 millions to be at Roland's disposal for the supply of the Paris market, and that bakers were to sell at 3 *sous* the lb. (we hear no more of the 4 lb. loaf); the price in the country round was often double that. Further a regular open account was to be kept between the baker and each of his customers, weekly inspected by the Commissioners of the *Commune*. This arrangement lasted until May 3rd '93, and Mortimer-Ternaux (vi. 40) calculates that the *Commune* spent 12,000 fr. a day in 'keeping prices down.' On May

shall gradually extend itself into a *Maximum* for all manner of *comestibles* and commodities: with such scrambling and topsyturvying as may be fancied! For now, if, for example, the farmer will not sell? The farmer shall be forced to sell. An accurate Account of what grain he has shall be delivered in to the Constituted Authorities: let him see that he say not too much; for in that case, his rents, taxes and contributions will rise proportionally: let him see that he say not too little; for, on or before a set day, we shall suppose in April, *less* than one-third of this declared quantity must remain in his barns, more than two-thirds of it must have been thrashed and sold. One can denounce him, and raise penalties.

By such inextricable overturning of all Commercial relations will Sansculottism keep life in; since not otherwise. On the whole, as Camille Desmoulins says once, "while the Sansculottes fight, the *Monsieurs* must pay." So there come *Impôts Progressifs*, Ascending Taxes; which consume, with fast-increasing voracity, the 'superfluous-revenue' of men: beyond fifty-pounds a-year, you are not exempt; rising into the hundreds, you bleed freely; into the thousands and tens of thousands, you bleed

3rd the *Maximum* was actually voted, for corn only, over the whole of France, the price to vary according to the condition of the crops and stores in each department. On Sept. 17th '93 it was voted to extend the principle to other commodities also, and to enforce it at once in the matter of corn. The same law defines the crime of *accaparement* as the "withdrawing from public daily sale articles of prime necessity which you possess, grow or manufacture." The crime is punishable by death and confiscation, the informer receiving one-third of the goods confiscated. Further no miller or baker may abandon his craft, or sell privately; no man may store more than one month's provisions for his family; lands left uncultivated shall immediately be put in cultivation. But it seems that little was done to enforce all this as yet. In Nov. '93 a table of prices of all articles of necessity was to be prepared in each Department, and these tables were presented to the Convention in a report of Barère's, in Feb. '94. His speech on that occasion (Feb. 22nd) shows that the basis of the *Maximum* was taken to be the cost of production in 1790 increased by one-third to allow for the rise in the price of everything, *plus* 5 per cent. profit for the wholesale, *plus* 10 per cent. profit for the retail dealer. The tables of prices so prepared needed constant revision (I have quoted one, *infra*, iii. 164), and the *Maximum* was in fact only enforced by Terror and for the sake of Terror. It was used as a means of confiscating the property of the agricultural class newly enriched by the Revolution; and a very large proportion of the victims of the 'Red Terror' (May—July '94) were peasant proprietors, who suffered for evading it. (Cf. Rev. de la Rév. viii. 162, 282, 336, 442; Schmidt, ii. 240, 254.) The Committee of Public Safety constantly evaded it for the needs of the Armies; Aulard's *Recueil* teems with orders of Committee authorising the purchase of provisions, equipments and munitions of War at prices above the *Maximum*.]

gushing.¹ Also there come Requisitions; there comes 'Forced-Loan of a Milliard,' some Fifty-Millions Sterling; which of course they that *have* must lend. Unexampled enough; it has grown to be no country for the Rich, this; but a country for the Poor! And then if one fly, what steads it? Dead in Law; nay kept alive fifty years yet, for *their* accursed behoof! In this manner therefore it goes; topsyturvyng, *ça-ira*-ing;—and withal there is endless sale of Emigrant National-Property, there is Cambon with endless cornucopia of Assignats. The Trade and Finance of Sansculottism; and how, with Maximum and Bakers'-queues, with Cupidity, Hunger, Denunciation and Paper-money, it led its galvanic-life, and began and ended,—remains the most interesting of all Chapters in Political Economy: still to be written.

All which things, are they not clean against Formula? O Girondin Friends, it is not a Republic of the Virtues we are getting; but only a Republic of the Strengths, virtuous and other!²

CHAPTER VI

THE TRAITOR

BUT Dumouriez, with his fugitive Host, with his King *Ludovicus* or King *Philippus*? There lies the crisis; there hangs the question: Revolution Prodigy, or Counter-Revolution?—One wide shriek covers that North-east region. Soldiers, full of rage, suspicion and terror, flock hither and thither; Dumouriez,

¹ [This is the *Impôt Progressif* of April 27th (Danton's proposal). The forced loan of a *milliard* was on May 20th. The details were not finally settled till June 22nd, by Ramel. On Sept. 3rd it was added that a jury of your neighbours should assess you for this loan (one can imagine how equitably it would be done). We hear no more of the loan or tax after the summer of '93; the Government lived by confiscations and requisitions, not by taxes. (See Appx. on Debt and Deficit; Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. 333, *sqq.*)]

² [For a sensible view of the situation see the letter of La Coste and Saint-André to Barère (from the Department of the Lot), March 26th: 'Every one, rich and poor alike, is weary of the Revolution, the Municipal authorities are hopelessly against us, the Convention is despised and the cause lost, but we Conventionals have to save our heads, and the only way to do it is to feed the poor from public granaries with cheap bread' (Aulard, Recueil, ii. 533).]

the many-counselled, never off horseback, knows now no counsel that were not worse than none :¹ the counsel, namely, of joining himself with Cobourg ; marching to Paris, extinguishing Jacobinism, and, with some new King Ludovicus or King Philippus, restoring the Constitution of 1791 !²

Is Wisdom quitting Dumouriez ; the herald of Fortune quitting him ? Principle, faith political or other, beyond a certain faith of mess-rooms, and honour of an officer, had him not to quit. At any rate his quarters in the Burgh of Saint-Amand ; his headquarters in the Village of Saint-Amand des Boues, a short way off,—have become a Bedlam. National Representatives, Jacobin Missionaries are riding and running ; of the ‘three Towns,’ Lille, Valenciennes or even Condé, which Dumouriez wanted to snatch for himself, not one can be snatched ; your Captain is admitted, but the Town-gate is closed on him, and then alas the Prison-gate, and ‘his men wander about the ramparts.’ Couriers gallop breathless ; men wait, or seem waiting, to assassinate, to be assassinated ; Battalions nigh frantic with such suspicion and uncertainty, with *Vive-la-République* and *Sauve-qui-peut*, rush this way and that ;—Ruin and Desperation in the shape of Cobourg lying entrenched close by.

Dame Genlis and her fair Princess d’Orléans find this Burgh of Saint-Amand no fit place for them ; Dumouriez’s protection is grown worse than none. Tough Genlis, one of the toughest women ; a woman, as it were, with nine lives in her ; whom nothing will beat : she packs her bandboxes ; clear for flight in a private manner. Her beloved Princess she will—leave here, with the Prince Chartres Égalité her Brother. In the cold gray

¹[March 23rd—April 5th.]

²Dumouriez, Mémoires, iv. c. 7, c. 10. [His plan was to propose to Coburg an armistice of sufficient duration to enable him to go to Paris, and restore the Monarchy (Louis XVII.). It seems incredible that such an astute person should have relied on the good faith of the Austrian Government—though Coburg, who most unwillingly signed the agreement with him, was honourably disposed to keep it. The negotiations between them lasted from March 23rd—April 5th, Dumouriez agreeing to put the frontier fortresses in Coburg’s hands as a guarantee of good faith. Meanwhile, on March 30th, the Convention sent to summon Dumouriez to the Bar ; the Commissioners sent were Beurnonville (the War minister) and four deputies (*vid. infr.*, iii. 39).]

of the April morning, we find her accordingly established in her hired vehicle, on the street of Saint-Amand ; postilions just cracking their whips to go,—when behold the young Princely Brother, struggling hitherward, hastily calling ; bearing the Princess in his arms ! Hastily he has clutched the poor young lady up, in her very night-gown, nothing saved of her goods except the watch from the pillow : with brotherly despair he flings her in, among the bandboxes, into Genlis's chaise, into Genlis's arms : Leave her not, in the name of Mercy and Heaven ! A shrill scene, but a brief one :—the postilions crack and go. Ah, whither ? Through by-roads and broken hill-passes ; seeking their way with lanterns after nightfall ; through perils, and Cobourg Austrians, and suspicious French Nationals : finally, into Switzerland ; safe though nigh moneyless.¹ The brave young *Égalité* has a most wild Morrow to look for ; but now only himself to carry through it.

For indeed over at that Village named *of the Mudbaths, Saint-Amand des Boues*, matters are still worse. About four o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, the 2d of April 1793, two Couriers come galloping as if for life ; *Mon Général !* Four National Representatives, War-Minister at their head, are posting hitherward from Valenciennes ;² are close at hand,—with what intents one may guess ! While the Couriers are yet speaking, War-Minister and National Representatives, old Camus the Archivist for chief speaker of them, arrive. Hardly has *Mon Général* had time to order out the Hussar Regiment de Berchigny ; that it take rank and wait near by, in case of accident. And so, enter War-Minister Beurnonville, with an embrace of friendship, for he is an old friend ; enter Archivist Camus and the other three following him.

They produce Papers, invite the General to the bar of the Con-

¹ Genlis, iv. 139. [Madame de Genlis and the Princess quitted Mons in Belgium, April 13th, and drove *viâ* Wiesbaden to Switzerland, where they established themselves at the Convent of Bremgarten, which they left separately in May '94, Mademoiselle to join her brother, and Madame for Hamburg (Genlis in *loc. cit.*.)]

²[Beurnonville, Minister of War ; Camus, Quinette, Lamarque and Bancal.]

vention : merely to give an explanation or two. The General finds it unsuitable, not to say impossible, and that "the service will suffer." Then comes reasoning ; the voice of the old Archivist getting loud. Vain to reason loud with this Dumouriez ; he answers mere angry irreverences. And so, amid plumed staff-officers, very gloomy-looking ; in jeopardy and uncertainty, these poor National messengers debate and consult, retire and re-enter, for the space of some two hours : without effect. Whereupon Archivist Camus, getting quite loud, proclaims, in the name of the National Convention, for he has the power to do it, That General Dumouriez is *arrested* : "Will you obey the National mandate, General !"—" *Pas dans ce moment-ci*, Not at this particular moment," answers the General also aloud ; then glancing the other way, utters certain unknown vocables, in a mandatory manner ; seemingly a German word-of-command.¹ Hussars clutch the Four National Representatives, and Beurnonville the War-Minister ; pack them out of the apartment ; out of the Village, over the lines to Cobourg, in two chaises that very night, —as hostages, prisoners ; to lie long in Maestricht and Austrian strongholds!² *Jacta est alea.*

This night Dumouriez prints his 'Proclamation ;' this night and the morrow the Dumouriez Army, in such darkness visible, and rage of semi-desperation as there is, shall meditate what the General is doing, what they themselves will do in it. Judge whether this Wednesday was of halcyon nature, for any one ! But on the Thursday morning, we discern Dumouriez with small escort, with Chartres Égalité and a few staff-officers, ambling along the Condé Highway : perhaps they are for Condé, and trying to persuade the Garrison there ; at all events, they are for an interview with Cobourg, who waits in the woods by appointment, in that quarter. Nigh the Village of Doumet, three National Battalions, a set of men always full of Jacobinism,

¹ Dumouriez, iv. 159, &c.

² Their narrative, written by Camus in Toulougeon, iii. app. 60-87. [It was these deputies who formed the subject of the often proposed exchange for the prisoners in the Temple ; and who were eventually exchanged for the sole survivor of them, Madame Royale, in the autumn of '95.]

sweep past us ; marching rather swiftly,—seemingly in mistake, by a way we had not ordered. The General dismounts, steps into a cottage, a little from the wayside ; will give them right order in writing. Hark ! what strange growling is heard ; what barkings are heard, loud yells of “ *Traitors,*” of “ *Arrest :*” the National Battalions have wheeled round, are emitting shot ! Mount, Dumouriez, and spring for life ! Dumouriez and Staff strike the spurs in, deep ; vault over ditches, into the fields, which prove to be morasses ; sprawl and plunge for life ; be-whistled with curses and lead. Sunk to the middle, with or without horses, several servants killed, they escape out of shot-range, to General Mack the Austrian’s quarters. Nay they return on the morrow, to Saint-Amand and faithful foreign Berchigny ; but what boots it ? The Artillery has all revolted, is jingling off to Valenciennes ; all have revolted, are revolting ; except only foreign Berchigny, to the extent of some poor fifteen hundred, none will follow Dumouriez against France and Indivisible Republic : Dumouriez’s occupation’s gone.¹

Such an instinct of Frenchhood and Sansculottism dwells in these men : they will follow no Dumouriez nor Lafayette, nor any mortal on such errand. Shriek may be of *Sauve-qui-peut*, but will also be of *Vive-la-République*. New National Representatives arrive : new General Dampierre, soon killed in battle ; new General Custine : the agitated Hosts draw back to some Camp of Famars ; make head against Cobourg as they can.²

And so Dumouriez is in the Austrian quarters ; his drama ended, in this rather sorry manner. A most shifty, wiry man ; one of Heaven’s Swiss ; that wanted only work. Fifty years of unnoticed toil and valour ; one year of toil and valour, not unnoticed, but seen of all countries and centuries ; then thirty other years again unnoticed, of Memoir-writing, English Pension,

¹ Mémoires, iv. 162-80. [Dumouriez escaped with great difficulty ; Colonel Thouvenot, who was with him, had two horses shot under him ; and Quentin, his Secretary, was taken prisoner (Carnot, Corresp. ii. 70). Something over 800 men altogether followed Dumouriez, but most of them deserted the allies afterwards (Mortimer-Ternaux, vi. 458).]

² [April 8th.]

scheming and projecting to no purpose : Adieu thou Swiss of Heaven, worthy to have been something else !¹

His Staff go different ways. Brave young Égalité² reaches Switzerland and the Genlis Cottage ; with a strong crabstick in his hand, a strong heart in his body : his Princedom is now reduced to that. Égalité the Father sat playing whist, in his Palais Égalité, at Paris, on the 6th day of this same month of April, when a catchpole entered : Citoyen Égalité is wanted at the Convention Committee !³ Examination, requiring Arrestment ; finally requiring Imprisonment, transference to Marseilles and the Castle of If ! Orléansdom has sunk in the black waters ; Palais Égalité, which was Palais Royal, is like to become Palais National.

CHAPTER VII

IN FIGHT

OUR Republic, by paper Decree, may be ' One and Indivisible ; ' but what profits it while these things are ? Federalists in the Senate, renegadoes in the Army, traitors everywhere ! France, all in desperate recruitment since the Tenth of March, does not fly to the frontier, but only flies hither and thither. This defection of contemptuous diplomatic Dumouriez falls heavy on the fine-spoken high-sniffing *Hommes d'état* whom he consorted with ; forms a second epoch in their destinies.⁴

¹[Dumouriez was badly received at the Conference of the Allies at Antwerp, which followed immediately on his flight (April 8th) ; no one listened to him ; he wandered about Europe for some time, and finally accepted an English pension, dying at Turville near Henley-on-Thames, 1823.]

²[The Duc de Chartres refused to serve in the Austrian ranks, and escaped to Zurich (May 8th). He became professor of mathematics at the College of Reichenau for a short time, then wandered over Europe till 1795, finally sailing from Stockholm for North America in 1796. After long travel in America, he returned to Europe, and passed seven years at Twickenham near London. In 1809 he married Marie Amélie, daughter of Ferdinand of Sicily ; on the fall of the Empire he returned to France where he was well treated by both Louis XVIII. and Charles X. : finally became King Louis-Philippe 1830, and died, in exile again, at Claremont 1850.]

³See Montgaillard, iv. 144. [April 7th.]

⁴[Danton, in the midst of the struggle with the Gironde, did not lose heart as regards the National defence. On April 13th he carried a decree that the Republic will not concern itself with the internal affairs of other nations, but will bury itself

Or perhaps more strictly we might say, the second Girondin epoch, though little noticed then, began on the day when, in reference to this defection, the Girondins broke with Danton. It was the first day of April; Dumouriez had not yet plunged across the morasses to Cobourg, but was evidently meaning to do it, and our Commissioners were off to arrest him; when what does the Girondin Lasource see good to do, but rise, and jesuitically question and insinuate at great length, whether a main accomplice of Dumouriez had not probably been—Danton! Gironde grins sardonic assent; Mountain holds its breath. The figure of Danton, Levasseur says, while this speech went on, was noteworthy. He sat erect with a kind of internal convulsion struggling to keep itself motionless; his eye from time to time flashing wilder, his lip curling in Titanic scorn.¹ Lasource, in a fine-spoken attorney-manner, proceeds: there is this probability to his mind, and there is that; probabilities which press painfully on him, which cast the Patriotism of Danton under a painful shade;—which painful shade, he, Lasource, will hope that Danton may find it not impossible to dispel.

“*Les Scélérats!*” cries Danton, starting up, with clenched right-hand, Lasource having done; and descends from the Mountain, like a lava-flood: his answer not unready. Lasource’s probabilities fly like idle dust; but leave a result behind them. “Ye were right, friends of the Mountain,” begins Danton, “and I was wrong: there is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war then! They will not save the Republic with us: it shall be saved without them; saved in spite of them.” Really a burst of rude Parliamentary eloquence this; which is still

in ruins before allowing other nations to interfere in France. On 30th Cambon carried a decree for the establishment of eleven armies on the frontier, and the raising of two more within France as recruiting depôts; with each army there were to be permanent Commissioners of the Convention with unlimited powers. But this led to frequent denunciations of Generals. (Now it is Kellermann who speaks too much of *mon armée, mes soldats*, etc.; now Custine whose *liaisons* are to be carefully watched; now all the staff officers, etc., see Aulard, Recueil, iii. 286.) And Beurnonville was replaced at the War Office by the incapable Bouchotte, a tool of Hébert and the *Commune*; meanwhile, so unpopular had the Convention Commissioners become, that the Austrians were received almost as liberators in Belgium.]

¹ Mémoires de René Levasseur (Bruxelles, 1830), i. 164.

worth reading, in the old *Moniteur*. With fire-words the exasperated rude Titan rives and smites these Girondins; at every hit the glad Mountain utters chorus; Marat, like a musical *bis*, repeating the last phrase.¹ Lasource's probabilities are gone; but Danton's pledge of battle remains lying.

A third epoch, or scene in the Girondin Drama, or rather it is but the completion of this second epoch, we reckon from the day when the patience of virtuous Petion finally boiled over; and the Girondins, so to speak, took up this battle-pledge of Danton's, and decreed Marat accused.² It was the eleventh of the same month of April, on some effervescence rising, such as often rose; and President had covered himself, mere Bedlam now ruling; and Mountain and Gironde were rushing on one another with clenched right-hands, and even with pistols in them; when, behold, the Girondin Duperret drew a sword! Shriek of horror rose, instantly quenching all other effervescence, at sight of the clear murderous steel; whereupon Duperret returned it to the leather again;—confessing that he did indeed draw it, being instigated by a kind of sacred madness, "*sainte fureur*," and pistols held at him; but that if he parricidally had chanced to scratch the outmost skin of National Representation with it, he too carried pistols, and would have blown his brains out on the spot.³

But now in such posture of affairs, virtuous Petion rose, next morning, to lament these effervescences,⁴ this endless Anarchy

¹ Séance du 1er Avril 1793 (in Hist. Parl. xxv. 24-35). [The gist of Danton's speech, in reply to Lasource, was that, when in Belgium on March 19th, he did discover something of Dumouriez's treason; but that if any attempt had been made to seize Dumouriez there and then, his army would have fallen to pieces, and the Austrians have walked into France unopposed. He concluded by demanding a commission of inquiry into the relations between the Gironde and Dumouriez.]

² [It was the speech of Vergniaud on 10th and that of Guadet on the 11th (partly an answer to some vague accusations of Robespierre on 3rd and 10th, partly a clear denunciation of the violence of the *Commune*) that gave the Convention courage to accuse Marat.]

³ Ibid. xxv. 397.

⁴ [This seems to refer to Petion's denunciation of the petition of the Section *Halle-au-Blé*, which was on 10th. The Section *Bonconseil* had already petitioned against the Gironde on 8th. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 101, *sqq.*)]

invading the Legislative Sanctuary itself; and here, being growled at and howled at by the Mountain, his patience, long tried, did, as we say, boil over; and he spake vehemently, in high key, with foam on his lips; "whence," says Marat, "I concluded he had got *la rage*," the rabidity, or dog-madness. Rabidity smites others rabid: so there rises new foam-lipped demand to have Anarchists extinguished; and specially to have Marat put under Accusation. Send a representative to the Revolutionary Tribunal? Violate the inviolability of a Representative? Have a care, O Friends! This poor Marat has faults enough; but against Liberty or Equality, what fault? That he has loved and fought for it, not wisely but too well. In dungeons and cellars, in pinching poverty, under anathema of men; even so, in such fight, has he grown so dingy, bleared; even so has his head become a Stylites one! Him you will fling to your Sword of Sharpness; while Cobourg and Pitt advance on us, fire-spitting?

The Mountain is loud, the Gironde is loud and deaf; all lips are foamy. With 'Permanent-Session of twenty-four hours,' with vote by rollcall, and a deadlift effort, the Gironde carries¹ it: Marat is ordered² to the Revolutionary Tribunal, to answer for that February Paragraph of Forestallers at the door-lintel, with other offences; and, after a little hesitation, he obeys.³

Thus is Danton's battle-pledge taken up; there is, as he said there would be, 'war without truce or treaty, *ni trêve ni composition*.' Wherefore, close now with one another, Formula and Reality, in death-grips, and wrestle it out; both of you cannot live, but only one!⁴

¹[The figures were 210 to 92.] ²[April 12th.]

³Moniteur du 16 Avril, 1793, *et seqq.* [This is inaccurate; Marat refused to obey. His friends smuggled him out of the Hall and he took refuge in his sewers again: but on April 23rd he thought better of it and gave himself up at the *Conciergerie*. He was immediately sent for to the *Tribunal* and interrogated (*vid. infr.*, iii. 46).]

⁴[The best day by day account of the final struggle between the Gironde and the Montagne (April and May) is to be found in Schmidt's *Tableaux de la Rév.*, which are virtually police reports of the spies of Garat, notably those of a highly intelligent man called Dutard. It was immediately after this attack of Petion (and Guadet) on Marat that the extremist Sections of Paris demanded the expulsion of the 22 Girondin leaders (April 8th and 15th); the publication of Camille Desmoulins' '*Histoire des Brissotins*' was at the end of May. (*Vid. i fr.*, iii. 50. *Cf.* throughout Mortimer-Ternaux, books xxxv.-xxxviii.)]

CHAPTER VIII

IN DEATH-GRIPS

It proves what strength, were it only of inertia, there is in established Formulas, what weakness in nascent Realities, and illustrates several things, that this death-wrestle should still have lasted some six weeks or more. National business, discussion of the Constitutional Act, for our Constitution should decidedly be got ready, proceeds along with it. We even change our Locality; we shift, on the Tenth of May, from the old Salle de Manège into our new Hall, in the Palace, once a King's but now the Republic's, of the Tuileries. Hope and ruth, flickering against despair and rage, still struggle in the minds of men.¹

It is a most dark confused death-wrestle, this of the six weeks. Formalist frenzy against Realist frenzy; Patriotism, Egoism, Pride, Anger, Vanity, Hope and Despair, all raised to the frenetic pitch: Frenzy meets Frenzy, like dark clashing whirlwinds; neither understands the other; the weaker, one day, will understand that *it* is verily swept down! Girondism is strong as established Formula and Respectability: do not as many as Seventy-two of the Departments, or say respectable Heads of Departments, declare for us?² Calvados, which loves its Buzot, will even rise in revolt, so hint the Addresses; Marseilles, cradle of Patriotism, will rise; Bourdeaux will rise, and the Gironde Department, as one man; in a word, who will *not* rise, were our *Représentation Nationale* to be insulted, or one hair of a Deputy's head harmed! The Mountain, again, is strong as Reality and Audacity. To the Reality of the Mountain are not all further-

¹[The alterations necessary in the *Théâtre des Tuileries* (or *Salle des Spectacles*, or *Salle des Machines*, as it was sometimes called) had taken six months to effect. Dutard regarded the move as a good one for the cause of order; 'on the narrow terrace of the *Feuillans* it was easy for Revolutionary groups to assemble outside the Hall; but here (*i.e.*, on the Tuileries terrace) they get lost in the crowd of peaceable people.' The new Hall was enormous, but badly adapted for sound; the galleries would contain 2,000 persons. (Dauban, 183; Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 527.)]

²[No serious movement of this sort took place till after June 2nd (*vid. infr.*, iii. 61, 599.)]

some things possible? A new Tenth of August, if needful; nay a new Second of September!—

But, on Wednesday afternoon, Twenty-fourth day of April, year 1793, what tumult as of fierce jubilee is this? It is Marat returning from the Revolutionary Tribunal! A week or more of death-peril: and now there is triumphant acquittal; Revolutionary Tribunal can find no accusation against this man. And so the eye of History beholds Patriotism, which had gloomed unutterable things all week, break into loud jubilee, embrace its Marat; lift him into a chair of triumph, bear him shoulder-high through the streets. Shoulder-high is the injured People's-friend, crowned with an oak-garland; amid the wavy sea of red night-caps, carmagnole jackets, grenadier bonnets and female mobcaps; far-sounding like a sea! The injured People's-friend has here reached his culminating-point; he too strikes the stars with his sublime head.¹

But the Reader can judge with what face President Lasource, he of the 'painful probabilities,' who presides in this Convention Hall, might welcome such jubilee-tide, when it got thither, and the Decreed of Accusation floating on the top of it! A National Sapper, spokesman on the occasion, says, the People know their Friend, and love his life as their own; "whosoever wants Marat's head must get the Sapper's first."² Lasource answered with some

¹ [On Marat being brought before the Tribunal certain numbers of *L'Ami du Peuple* were put in evidence against him. He did not deny the authorship of the passages, but asserted that they had been mutilated and twisted from their true sense. No real attempt was made to bring witnesses against him, and the whole trial was held with a mob of Marat's friends shouting applause at every word he spoke. (Campardon, i. 30-38.)

Dutard saw how wrong it was to make Marat a martyr, 'let Marat live, and if he dies create another Marat to show the *bourgeoisie* what anarchy means' (Schmidt, i. 258). . . . 'Marat is the hero of Saint-Antoine because (i.) they don't believe him guilty of September, or if they do they sympathise with him in that, (ii.) his hands are clean, (iii.) his predictions have hitherto always been verified, (iv.) he speaks logically and they can understand him; they don't understand your Ver-gniauds, etc. : nor do you understand the people.' (Dutard to Garat, May 24th, Schmidt, i. 282. Cf. also Dubois-Crance's prophetic speech quoted in Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 141, 399.)

² Séance (in *Moniteur*, No. 116, du 26 Avril, An 1er. [This Sapper was Rocher, who had been on guard at the Temple, and amused himself by puffing smoke into the faces of the King and Queen when they passed him on the stairs. (Campardon, i. 38 note.)])

vague painful mumblement,—which, says Levasseur, one could not help tittering at.¹ Patriot Sections, Volunteers not yet gone to the Frontiers, come demanding the “purgation of traitors from your own bosom;” the expulsion, or even the trial and sentence, of a factious Twenty-two.

Nevertheless the Gironde has got its Commission of Twelve; a Commission specially appointed² for investigating these troubles of the Legislative Sanctuary: let Sansculottism say what it will, Law shall triumph. Old-Constituent Rabaut Saint-Étienne presides over this Commission: “It is the last plank whereon a wrecked Republic may perhaps still save herself.” Rabaut and they therefore sit, intent; examining witnesses; launching arrestments; looking out into a waste dim sea of troubles,—the womb of *Formula*, or perhaps her grave! Enter not that sea, O Reader! There are dim desolation and confusion; raging women and raging men. Sections come demanding Twenty-two; for the *number* first given by Section Bonconseil still holds, though the names should even vary. Other Sections, of the wealthier kind, come denouncing such demand;³ nay the same Section will demand today, and denounce the demand tomorrow, according as the wealthier sit, or the poorer. Wherefore, indeed, the Girondins decree that all Sections shall close ‘at ten in the evening;’⁴ before the working people come: which Decree remains without effect. And nightly the Mother of Patriotism wails doleful; doleful, but her eye kindling! And Fournier l’Américain is busy, and the two banker Freys, and Varlet Apostle of Liberty; the bull-voice of Marquis St.-Huruge is heard. And shrill women vociferate from all Galleries, the Convention ones and downwards. Nay a ‘Central Committee’

¹ Levasseur, Mémoires, i. c. 6.

² [May 21st. Boyer-Fonfrède, Rabaut-Saint-Étienne, Kervélegan, Boileau, Mollevault, Larivière, Bergoing, Valogne, Gommaire, Bertrand, Gardien, Viger, were the Commission of Twelve, expressly charged to investigate the recent acts of the *Commune* and Sections, and to guard against conspiracies against the Convention; the first report was presented by Viger, May 24th. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 245-9.)]

³ [Tuileries, Fraternité, Buttes des Moulins: also note an address from Bordeaux, of May 15th, which produced great discussion. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 223, *seq.*)]

⁴ [May 24th.]

of all the Forty-eight Sections looms forth huge and dubious ; sitting dim in the *Archevêché*, sending Resolutions, receiving them : a Centre of the Sections ;¹ in dread deliberation as to a New Tenth of August !

One thing we will specify, to throw light on many : the aspect under which, seen through the eyes of these Girondin Twelve, or even seen through one's own eyes, the Patriotism of the softer sex presents itself. There are Female Patriots, whom the Girondins call *Megæras*, and count to the extent of eight thousand ; with serpent-hair, all out of curl ; who have changed the distaff for the dagger. They are of 'the Society called Brotherly,' *Fraternelle*, say *Sisterly*, which meets under the roof of the Jacobins. 'Two thousand daggers,' or *so*, have been ordered,—doubtless for them. They rush to Versailles, to raise more women ; but the Versailles women will not rise.²

Nay behold, in National Garden of Tuileries,—*Demoiselle Théroigne* herself is become as a brownlocked Diana (were that possible) attacked by her own dogs, or she-dogs ! The *Demoiselle*, keeping her carriage, is for Liberty indeed, as she has full well shown ; but then for Liberty with Respectability : whereupon these serpent-haired Extreme She-Patriots do now fasten on her, tatter her, shamefully fustigate her, in their shameful way ; almost fling her into the Garden-ponds, had not help intervened.³ Help, alas, to small purpose. The poor *Demoiselle's* head and nervous-system, none of the soundest, is so tattered and fluttered that it will never recover ; but flutter worse and worse, till it

¹[Nothing is more bewildering than the way in which the Sections change and rechange their names. The Constituent named the Sections in some cases after the old *Arrondissements*, in some cases after the principal buildings in them. A complete list of Sections and their changes of name is given in the index to Schmidt's *Tableaux de la Révolution*.

This central Committee of Sections at the old *Archevêché* is first mentioned in a letter of Terrasson's to Garat on May 13th. It was from this body that Dutard expected the Insurrection to come ; Dobsen, its president, was imprisoned by order of the Convention on 26th ; the Sections demanded other things besides blood ; under pretence of equipping Volunteers for the front they plundered the treasury to a fearful extent. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 230.)]

²Buzot, *Mémoires*, pp. 69, 84 ; Meillan, *Mémoires*, pp. 192, 195, 196. See *Commission des Douze* (in *Choix des Rapports*, xii. 69-131).

³[May 15th.]

crack ; and within year and day we hear of her in madhouse and straitwaistcoat, which proves permanent!—Such brownlocked Figure did flutter, and inarticulately jabber and gesticulate, little able to *speak* the obscure meaning it had, through some segment of the Eighteenth Century of Time. She disappears here from the Revolution and Public History forevermore.¹

Another thing we will not again specify, yet again beseech the Reader to imagine: the reign of Fraternity and Perfection. Imagine, we say, O Reader, that the Millennium were struggling on the threshold, and yet not so much as groceries could be had, —owing to traitors. With what impetus would a man strike traitors, in that case ! Ah, thou canst not imagine it ; thou hast thy groceries safe in the shops, and little or no hope of a Millennium ever coming !—But indeed, as to the temper there was in men and women, does not this one fact say enough: the height SUSPICION had risen to ? Preternatural we often called it ; seemingly in the language of exaggeration : but listen to the cold deposition of witnesses. Not a musical Patriot can blow himself a snatch of melody from the French Horn, sitting mildly pensive on the housetop, but Mercier will recognise it to be a signal which one Plotting Committee is making to another. Distraction has possessed Harmony herself ; lurks in the sound of *Marseillaise* and *Ça-ira*.² Louvet, who can see as deep into a millstone as the most, discerns that we shall be invited back to our old Hall of the Manège, by a Deputation ; and then the Anarchists will massacre Twenty-two of us, as we walk over. It is Pitt and Cobourg ; the gold of Pitt.—Poor Pitt ! They little

¹ Deux Amis, vii. 77-80 ; Forster, i. 514 ; Moore, i. 70. She did not die till 1817 ; in the *Salpêtrière*, in the most abject state of insanity : see Esquirol, Des Maladies Mentales (Paris, 1838), i. 445-50. [Théroigne had presented herself at the door of the Convention Hall with a ticket of admission to the galleries (May 15th) : a strong detachment of market women was there (evidently posted with some deliberate intention), who prevented the entry of all women possessing tickets of admission (these tickets were shortly afterwards abolished). Cries of *Brissotine* were heard as Théroigne approached, and she was flogged. She did not lose her reason till about October, when she was sent to an asylum in Faubourg Saint-Marceau, thence to *Hôtel-Dieu*, and thence to the *Salpêtrière*, where she died 1817. (Théroigne de la Méricourt par M. Pellet, pp. 110-113 (Paris, 1886) ; Rév. de Paris, No. 201 (May 11th—18th).)]

² Mercier, Nouveau Paris, vi. 63.

know what work he has with his own Friends of the People; getting them bespied, beheaded, their habeas-corpuses suspended, and his own Social Order and strong-boxes kept tight,—to fancy him raising mobs among his neighbours!

But the strangest fact connected with French or indeed with human Suspicion, is perhaps this of Camille Desmoulins. Camille's head, one of the clearest in France, has got itself so saturated through every fibre with Preternaturalism of Suspicion, that looking back on that Twelfth of July 1789, when the thousands rose round him, yelling responsive at his word in the Palais-Royal Garden, and took cockades, he finds it explicable only on this hypothesis, That they were all hired to do it, and set on by the Foreign and other Plotters. "It was not for nothing," says Camille with insight, "that this multitude burst up round me when I spoke!" No, not for nothing. Behind, around, before, it is one huge Preternatural Puppet-play of Plots; Pitt pulling the wires.¹ Almost I conjecture that I, Camille myself, am a Plot, and wooden with wires.—The force of insight could no further go.

Be this as it will, History remarks that the Commission of Twelve, now clear enough as to the Plots; and luckily having 'got the threads of them all by the end,' as they say,—are launching Mandates of Arrest rapidly in these May days; and carrying matters with a high hand; resolute that the sea of troubles shall be restrained. What chief Patriot, Section-President even, is safe? They can arrest him; tear him from his warm bed, because he has made irregular Section Arrestments! They arrest Varlet Apostle of Liberty.² They arrest Procureur-Substitute Hébert, *Père Duchesne*; a Magistrate of the People, sitting

¹ See *Histoire des Brissotins* par Camille Desmoulins (a pamphlet of Camille's, Paris, 1793). [It was on May 19th that the Jacobin club ordered the printing of this pamphlet, which was the substance of two speeches delivered by Camille there on 2nd and 19th. Camille afterwards regretted his pamphlet, and believed it was that which had destroyed the Gironde. It is hopelessly dull and a ludicrous perversion of facts. *J. P. Brissot démasqué* (Feb. 1st '93, to which this was a sequel) is equally dull. It did not need Camille to tell us that Brissot was a *charlatan*.]

²[May 25th.]

in Townhall; who, with high solemnity of martyrdom, takes leave of his colleagues; prompt he, to obey the Law; and solemnly acquiescent, disappears into prison.¹

The swifter fly the Sections, energetically demanding him back; demanding not arrestment of Popular Magistrates, but of a traitorous Twenty-two. Section comes flying after Section;—defiling energetic, with their Cambyses-vein of oratory: nay the Commune itself comes, with Mayor Pache at its head; and with question not of Hébert and the Twenty-two alone, but with this ominous old question made new, “Can you save the Republic, or must we do it?” To whom President Max Isnard makes fiery answer: If by fatal chance, in any of those tumults which since the Tenth of March are ever returning, Paris were to lift a sacrilegious finger against the National Representation, France would rise as one man, in never-imagined vengeance, and shortly ‘the traveller would ask, on which side of the Seine Paris had stood!’² Whereat the Mountain bellows only louder, and every Gallery; Patriot Paris boiling round.

And Girondin Valazé has nightly conclaves at his house;³ sends billets, ‘Come punctually, and well armed, for there is to be business.’ And Megæra women perambulate the streets, with flags, with lamentable *alleleu*.⁴ And the Convention-doors are obstructed by roaring multitudes: fine-spoken *Hommes d’état* are hustled, maltreated, as they pass; Marat will apostrophise you, in such death-peril, and say, Thou too art of them. If Roland ask leave

¹[Dutard applauded the arrest of Hébert, saying that his party was strong enough to raise an Insurrection, ‘but I doubt if they will, if you can keep him locked up’ (Schmidt, i. 300). This is a shrewd comment, because, when Robespierre arrested Hébert ten months later, there was just as much threat of Insurrection in his favour (Hébert being *Roi de la Rue* in a sense in which neither Danton nor even Marat ever were); but Robespierre was firmer than the Gironde, and did keep Hébert locked up and cut his head off.]

²Moniteur, Séance du 25 Mai 1793. [It must not be forgotten that every one of the fortnightly elections to the Presidency in April and May went in favour of the Gironde (April 18th, Lasource; May 2nd, Boyer-Fonfrède; May 16th, Isnard). The misfortune of Isnard’s speech was that it contained a threat so very like that of Brunswick in his Manifesto of July ’92.]

³[These meetings at Valazé’s house had been watched by the police of the *Commune* since the end of January; Valazé avowed that there were sometimes 30 or 40 people present. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 253-4.)]

⁴Meillan, Mémoires, p. 195; Buzot, pp. 69, 84.

to quit Paris, there is order of the day. What help? Substitute Hébert, Apostle Varlet, must be given back; to be crowned with oak-garlands. The Commission of Twelve, in a Convention overwhelmed with roaring Sections, is broken; then on the morrow, in a Convention of rallied Girondins, is reinstated. Dim Chaos, or the sea of troubles, is struggling through all its elements; writhing and chafing towards some Creation.¹

CHAPTER IX

EXTINCT

ACCORDINGLY, on Friday, the Thirty-first of May 1793,² there comes forth into the summer sunlight one of the strangest scenes. Mayor Pache with Municipality arrives at the Tuileries Hall of Convention; sent for, Paris being in visible ferment; and gives the strangest news.

How, in the gray of this morning, while we sat Permanent in Townhall, watchful for the commonweal, there entered, precisely as on a Tenth of August, some Ninety-six extraneous persons; who declared themselves to be in a state of Insurrection; to be plenipotentiary Commissioners from the Forty-eight Sections, sections or members of the Sovereign People, all in a state of Insurrection; and further that we, in the name of said Sovereign in Insurrection, were dismissed from office. How we thereupon laid off our sashes, and withdrew into the adjacent Saloon of Liberty. How, in a moment or two, we were called back; and reinstated; the Sove-

¹[The release of Hébert and the abolition of the Commission of Twelve were carried in deference to the petition of the *Commune* of the 27th, on the motion of Lacroix. The reinstatement of the Commission on the 28th was on the motion of Lanjuinais, the only Moderate who had any real courage (and he no Girondist). It is to be noticed that Danton played almost no part, or no open part, in the Convention in these days. He was busy in the *Comité de Salut Public*, but it is difficult after reading the *Actes* of the *Comité de Salut Public*, in Aulard's *Recueil* (iv. 264, *sqq.*), to acquit that body of sympathy with the *Commune*. As early as 20th it sent for Pache, and chose to believe him that there was no danger of disturbance in Paris: it received daily reports from him and Garat (*vid. infr.*, iii. 59).

Hébert prudently used his triumph to obtain 135,000 fr. from Bouchotte, the War Minister, to cover the free distribution of sundry copies of *Père Duchesne* to the Armies. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 299.)]

²[The sitting on the 31st lasted from 6 A.M.-9.30 P.M., but there appears to have been no debating, merely listening to petitions from the Sections.]

reign pleasing to think us still worthy of confidence. Whereby, having taken new oath of office, we on a sudden find ourselves Insurrectionary Magistrates,¹ with extraneous Committee of Ninety-six sitting by us; and a Citizen Henriot, one whom some accuse of Septemberism,² is made Generalissimo of the National Guard; and, since six o'clock, the tocsins ring, and the drums beat:—Under which peculiar circumstances, what would an august National Convention please to direct us to do?³

Yes, there is the question! “Break the Insurrectionary Authorities,” answer some with vehemence.⁴ Vergniaud at least will have “the National Representatives all die at their post;” this is sworn to, with ready loud acclaim. But as to breaking the Insurrectionary Authorities,—alas, while we yet debate, what sound is that? Sound of the Alarm-Cannon on the Pont Neuf; which it is death by the Law to fire without order from us!

It does boom off there, nevertheless; sending a stound through all hearts. And the tocsins discourse stern music; and Henriot with his Armed Force has enveloped us!⁵ And Section succeeds Section, the livelong day; demanding with Cambyses-oratory, with the rattle of muskets, That traitors, Twenty-two or more, be punished; that the Commission of Twelve be irrecoverably broken. The heart of the Gironde dies within it; distant are the Seventy-two respectable Departments, this fiery Municipality is near!

¹[This reinforcement of the *Commune* arose from the machinations at the *Archevêché*: on the night of 28th the conspirators assembled there (Tallien, Varlet, Collot, Guzman, Prouy, Desfieux, etc.) called a meeting of deputies from all Sections for 30th. To this 33 sections sent deputies ‘provided with full powers to save the Republic;’ early on 31st these persons appeared in the *Hôtel-de-Ville*, and declared the power of the *Commune* suspended; Pache and Chaumette played into their hands, and it was Chaumette who in the name of the *Commune* ‘rendered up its powers to the Sovereign people;’ which gave them back, as Carlyle states. The *Commune*, thus reinforced, nominated Hanriot: and within an hour Hanriot was drawing up his forces. (Schmidt, i. 147, 323.) The legal *Commune* however continued to sit till the new elections in August. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 473.)]

²[François Hanriot, an *employé* in the *Octroi* of Paris, dismissed for deserting his post when the barriers were burnt in July '89, joined the police, was imprisoned for theft, served the *Commune* as a Septemberer, was legally confirmed as Commander of National Guard June 8th '93, was suspected of Hébertist leanings in March '94, but was probably a coward, as he showed then and at Thermidor; he was guillotined with Robespierre.]

³Débats de la Convention (Paris, 1828), iv. 187-223; Moniteur, Nos. 152, 3, 4, An rer.

⁴[*Vis. Lanjuinais.*]

⁵[40,000 men in all.]

Barrère is for a middle course ; granting something. The Commission of Twelve declares that, not waiting to be broken, it hereby breaks itself, and is no more. Fain would Reporter Rabaut speak his and its last-words ; but he is bellowed off. Too happy that the Twenty-two are still left unviolated !—Vergniaud, carrying the laws of refinement to a great length, moves, to the amazement of some, that ‘the Sections of Paris have deserved well of their country.’¹ Whereupon, at a late hour of the evening, the deserving Sections retire to their respective places of abode. Barrère shall report on it. With busy quill and brain he sits, secluded ; for him no sleep tonight. Friday the last of May has ended in this manner.

The Sections have deserved well : but ought they not to deserve better ? Faction and Girondism is struck down for the moment, and consents to be a nullity ; but will it not, at another favourabler moment rise, still feller ; and the Republic have to be saved in spite of it ? So reasons Patriotism, still Permanent ; so reasons the Figure of Marat, visible in the dim Section-world, on the morrow. To the conviction of men !—And so at eventide of Saturday, when Barrère had just got the thing all varnished by the labour of a night and day, and his Report was setting off in the evening mail-bags, tocsin peals out *again*. *Générale* is beating ; armed men taking station in the Place Vendôme and elsewhere, for the night ; supplied with provisions and liquor. There, under the summer stars, will they wait, this night, what is to be seen and to be done, Henriot and Townhall giving due signal.²

¹[They had also not done badly for themselves, the new *Commune* having voted that each man was to be paid 40 *sous* a day while under arms. Vergniaud’s cowardice is inexplicable ; ‘*il se fait un Barère* ;’ his apologist, M. Vatel (Vergniaud, ii. 159, *sqq.*), vainly endeavours to justify him. The only honourable course would have been to support the Commission of Twelve through thick and thin ; Guadet and Valazé saw this and endeavoured to do so. (*Cf.* Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 242.)]

²[June 1st was quiet till 7 P.M. The Convention met at 10 A.M. and listened to a long report of Barère, drawn up no doubt at the *Comité de Salut Public*, which concluded nothing. It met again at 9 P.M. but was very thinly attended, and, after receiving a fresh petition from the *Commune* for the impeachment of the Gironde, adjourned at midnight, apparently without hindrance from the armed forces outside. It was Marat who definitely called on the *Commune* to force the thing through that evening—he rang the tocsin with his own hands. (Dauban, Paris en 1793, 210-11.)]

The Convention, at sound of *générale*, hastens back to its Hall ; but to the number only of a Hundred ; and does little business, puts off business till the morrow. The Girondins do not stir out thither, the Girondins are abroad seeking beds.—Poor Rabaut, on the morrow morning, returning to his post, with Louvet and some others, through streets all in ferment, wrings his hands, ejaculating, “ *Illa suprema dies !* ”¹ It has become Sunday, the second day of June, year 1793, by the old style ; by the new style, year One of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. We have got to the last scene of all, that ends this history of the Girondin Senatorship.

It seems doubtful whether any terrestrial Convention had ever met in such circumstances as this National one now does.² Tocsin is pealing ; Barriers shut ; all Paris is on the gaze, or under arms. As many as a Hundred Thousand under arms they count : National Force ; and the Armed Volunteers, who should have flown to the Frontiers and La Vendée ; but would not, treason being unpunished ; and only flew hither and thither ! So many, steady under arms, environ the National Tuileries and Garden. There are horse, foot, artillery, sappers with beards : the artillery one can see with their camp-furnaces in this National Garden, heating bullets red, and their match is lighted. Henriot in plumes rides, amid a plumed Staff : all posts and issues are safe ; reserves lie out, as far as the Wood of Boulogne ; the choicest Patriots nearest the scene. One other circumstance we will note : that a careful Municipality, liberal of camp-furnaces, has not forgotten provision-carts. No member of the Sovereign need now go home to dinner ; but can keep rank,—plentiful victual circulating unsought. Does not this People understand Insurrection ? Ye, *not* uninventive, *Gualches !*—

Therefore let a National Representation, ‘mandatories of the

¹ Louvet, Mémoires, p. 89. [The Gironde held a meeting late at night on 1st, at Meillan’s house in the Rue des Moulins ; at which Louvet proposed flight in order to raise a Departmental Insurrection, but the proposal was not well received. (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 372.)]

² [The Convention met at 10.30 A.M. on 2nd, few of the actual leaders of the Gironde were present : many of them remained at Meillan’s house.]

Sovereign,' take thought of it. Expulsion of your Twenty-two, and your Commission of Twelve: we stand here till it be done! Deputation after Deputation, in ever stronger language, comes with that message. Barrère proposes a middle course:—Will not perhaps the inculcated Deputies consent to withdraw voluntarily; to make a generous demission, and self-sacrifice for the sake of one's country? Isnard, repentant of that search on which river-bank Paris stood, declares himself ready to demit. Ready also is *Te-Deum* Fauchet; old Dusaulx of the Bastille, '*vieux radoteur*, old dotard,' as Marat calls him, is still readier. On the contrary, Lanjuinais the Breton¹ declares that there is one man who never will demit voluntarily; but will protest to the uttermost, while a voice is left him. And he accordingly goes on protesting; amid rage and clangour; Legendre crying at last: "Lanjuinais, come down from the Tribune, or I will fling thee down, *ou je te jette en bas!*" For matters are come to extremity. Nay they do clutch hold of Lanjuinais, certain zealous Mountain-men; but cannot fling him down, for he 'cramps himself on the railing;' and 'his clothes get torn.' Brave Senator, worthy of pity!² Neither will Barbaroux demit; he "has sworn to die at his post, and will keep that oath." Whereupon the Galleries all rise with explosion; brandishing weapons, some of them; and rush out, saying: "*Allons,*

¹[Jean Denis Lanjuinais, born at Rennes 1753, practised at the Breton Bar, and drew up the *cahier* for the *Tiers-État* of Rennes, for which he sat in the Constituent, helped to found the Breton club in Paris, was a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee, sat in the Convention for Ile-et-Vilaine, repeatedly endeavoured to save the King, denounced the massacres and the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, fought almost alone against all the violent measures from Jan.—June '93: was proscribed, escaped to Rennes and lay hidden in a loft for 18 months: returned to the Convention in March 95, went *en mission* to Brittany and helped to pacify the *Chouans*; helped also to draw up the Constitution of the year III. At the first election under that Constitution he was elected for 63 separate Departments, sat in the Ancients, and after Brumaire in the Senate, but protested both against the Consulate for life and the Empire: became a peer of France 1814, and died 1827. Though throughout his life an ardent politician, and, compared to many of the men of '89, an advanced Liberal, Lanjuinais was never a party man and was a consistent lover of liberty. Perhaps no character in the whole Revolution appears so honourable, pure and disinterested.

A very interesting '*Examen de sa conduite*,' written by himself when in hiding, is published in the *Rev. de la Rév.* (xi. 303; xii. 157, 353, 528).]

²[The scene made by Lanjuinais is wrongly put by Carlyle after Isnard's cowardly surrender—it followed Barère's speech. Carlyle might also have quoted Lanjuinais' witty reply to Legendre, 'Get a decree that I am an ox, and you may.' (Legendre was a butcher.)]

then; we must save our country!" Such a Session is this of Sunday the second of June.

Churches fill, over Christian Europe, and then empty themselves; but this Convention empties not, the while: a day of shrieking contention, of agony, humiliation and tearing of coat-skirts; *illa suprema dies!* Round stand Henriot and his Hundred Thousand, copiously refreshed from tray and basket: nay he is 'distributing five francs a-piece,' we Girondins saw it with our eyes; five francs to keep them in heart! And distraction of armed riot encumbers our borders, jangles at our Bar; we are prisoners in our own Hall: Bishop Grégoire could not get out for a *besoin actuel* without four gendarmes to wait on him! What is the character of a National Representative become? And now the sunlight falls yellower on western windows, and the chimney-tops are flinging longer shadows; the refreshed Hundred Thousand, nor their shadows, stir not! What to resolve on? Motion rises, superfluous one would think, That the Convention go forth in a body; ascertain with its own eyes whether it is free or not. Lo, therefore, from the Eastern Gate of the Tuileries, a distressed Convention issuing; handsome Hérault Séchelles at their head; he with hat on, in sign of public calamity, the rest bareheaded,—towards the Gate of the Carrousel; wondrous to see: towards Henriot and his plumed staff. "In the name of the National Convention, make way!" Not an inch of way does Henriot make: "I receive no orders, till the Sovereign, yours and mine, have been obeyed." The Convention presses on; Henriot prances back, with his staff, some fifteen paces, "To arms! Cannoneers, to your guns!"—flashes out his puissant sword, as the Staff all do, and the Hussars all do. Cannoneers brandish the lit match; Infantry present arms,—alas, in the level way, as if for firing! Hatted Hérault leads his distressed flock, through their pinfold of a Tuileries again; across the Garden, to the Gate on the opposite side. Here is Feuillans-Terrace, alas, there is our old Salle de Manège; but neither at this Gate of the Pont Tournant is there egress. Try the other; and the other: no egress! We wander disconsolate through armed ranks; who indeed salute

with *Live the Republic*, but also with *Die the Gironde*. Other such sight, in the year One of Liberty, the westering sun never saw.

And now behold Marat meets us; for he lagged in this Suppliant Procession of ours: he has got some hundred elect Patriots at his heels; he orders us, in the Sovereign's name, to return to our place, and do as we are bidden and bound. The Convention returns. "Does not the Convention," says Couthon with a singular power of face, "see that it is free,"—none but friends round it? The Convention, overflowing with friends and armed Sectioners, proceeds to vote as bidden. Many will not vote, but remain silent; some one or two protest, in words, the Mountain has a clear unanimity. Commission of Twelve, and the denounced Twenty-two, to whom we add Ex-Ministers Clavière and Lebrun:¹ these, with some slight extempore alterations (this or that orator proposing, but Marat disposing), are voted to be under 'Arrestment in their own houses.'² Brissot,³ Buzot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Louvet, Gensonné, Barbaroux, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Rabaut,—Thirty-two, by the tale; all that we have known as Girondins, and more than we have known. They, 'under the safeguard of the French People;' by and by, under the safeguard of two Gendarmes each, shall dwell peaceably in their own houses; as Non-Senators; till further order. Herewith ends *Séance* of Sunday the second of June 1793.

At ten o'clock, under mild stars, the Hundred Thousand, their work well finished, turn homewards. Already yesterday, Central Insurrection Committee had arrested Madame Roland;

¹[Clavière was no great loss, but Lebrun had managed Foreign affairs fairly well, and was entirely at the disposal of Danton; so much was this felt, that Lebrun continued to conduct Foreign affairs in confinement till June 21st, when he was succeeded by Deforgues (a nonentity): Lebrun was guillotined Dec. 27th '93.]

²['Arrest at their own houses under the safeguard of the French people, the National Convention and the loyalty of the citizens of Paris' (Mortimer-Ternaux, vii. 417).]

³[Brissot was not arrested till June 20th at Villejuif (near Moulins), Vergniaud not till 24th. By that date (24th) 15 of the Girondists had succeeded in escaping into the country: on July 28th these were declared outlaws in accordance with Saint-Just's report of July 8th. Many were not arrested till long after; e.g., Ducos, Boyer-Fonfrède, Boileau and Viger not till Amar's report of Oct. 3rd (*vid. infr.*, iii. 102).]

imprisoned her in the Abbaye.¹ Roland has fled, no man knows whither.

Thus fell the Girondins, by Insurrection ; and became extinct as a Party : not without a sigh from most Historians. The men were men of parts, of Philosophic culture, decent behaviour ; not condemnable in that they were but Pedants, and had not better parts ; not condemnable, but most unfortunate. They wanted a Republic of the Virtues, wherein themselves should be head ; and they could only get a Republic of the Strengths, wherein others than they were head.

For the rest, Barrère shall make Report of it.² The night concludes with a 'civic promenade by torchlight :'³ surely the true reign of Fraternity is now not far ?⁴

¹[June 1st.]

²[Barère's report, read on 7th in the name of the *Comité de Salut Public* and adopted by the Convention, is a masterpiece of shuffling. Apart from the somewhat humorous suggestion that a member of the Convention should be sent as a hostage to each of the Departments whose deputies had been arrested, it evidently indicated the wish of the Committee to curb the *Commune* as far as it dared, and to prevent the recurrence of such scenes, yet it does not dare openly to denounce the *Commune*, and concludes with a sort of judicious flattery all round. 'Every one has deserved well of every one else, but don't do it again,' is the keynote. (See Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. 11, *sqq.*)]

³Buzot, Mémoires, p. 310. See Pièces Justificatives, of Narratives, Commentaries, &c. in Buzot, Louvet, Meillan. Documens Complémentaires in Hist. Parl. xxviii. 1-78. [The minutes of the proceedings of the Convention on May 31st and June 2nd were not printed, so the *Moniteur* remains the best available authority. There are also the 'Mémoires de Meillan,' 1823 (Berville and Barrière, see esp. p. 48 *sqq.*), and 'Souvenirs sur les Journées du 31 Mai et 2 Juin,' by Dulaure, the author of the History of Paris, who sat in the Convention and escaped to Switzerland after June 2nd. (See Lescure, 'Journées Révolutionnaires,' ii. 278.)]

The attitude of the *Comité de Salut Public* continues suspicious all through the 31st, 1st, 2nd ; at its evening session of the 30th it is voted that no authority is to disturb the measures taken, but that they must be *grandes, sages et justes*, that order must be maintained and the Convention respected. Danton was not there : the Session lasted all night and ended by warning the members of the Convention to be early in their places. At its morning session on 31st the Committee decreed the suppression of the Commission of Twelve, and proposed an inquiry into the conspiracies against the Republic : Danton was there. At its evening session on 31st it protested against the *Commune's* threatened arrest of Lebrun (who was a willing servant of Danton's in Foreign affairs). On 1st it took no practical steps at all, but received several deputations. On 2nd it merely wrote to the 22 Girondists inviting them to suspend themselves, but that was the day on which it received news of the insurrection at Lyons on May 29th, and sent Lindet to try and suppress it. (See Aulard, Recueil, iv. 379, 388, *sqq.*)]

⁴[The profit of the insurrection of June 2nd turned all to the strong Radicals of the Mountain, among whom Danton was still a leading figure. Neither Danton nor Robespierre had any intention of letting the *Commune* dominate the situation. But

this day was the death knell of the Convention as a power : it never raised its head again till 9th Thermidor. And until the second *Comité de Salut Public* (inaugurated July 10th, but not complete till September 4th) put forth all its powers, the period was very critical. As Von Sybel (iii. 159 and 226) well puts it, four great questions presented themselves :

- (1) Would the Army obey the Clubs or the Committees?
- (2) Would the Clubs obey the Committees?
- (3) Would the people of the Faubourgs obey the Clubs, or the Commune, or the Committees?
- (4) Would the Commune obey the Committees?

Much valuable light upon the state of parties in France may be gleaned from Mallet du Pan, who had undoubtedly shrewd and able correspondents in Paris, whose names have not transpired. (See the first part of the 2nd vol. of his *Mémoires* (edn. Sayous); and especially ii. 11.)]

BOOK IV

TERROR

CHAPTER I

CHARLOTTE CORDAY

IN the leafy months of June and July, several French Departments germinate a set of rebellious *paper-leaves*, named Proclamations, Resolutions, Journals, or Diurnals, 'of the Union for Resistance to Oppression.' In particular, the Town of Caen, in Calvados, sees its paper-leaf of *Bulletin de Caen*¹ suddenly bud, suddenly establish itself as Newspaper there; under the Editorship of Girondin National Representatives!

For among the proscribed Girondins are certain of a more desperate humour. Some, as Vergniaud, Valazé, Gensonné, 'arrested in their own houses,' will await with stoical resignation what the issue may be. Some, as Brissot, Rabaut, will take to flight, to concealment; which, as the Paris Barriers are opened again in a day or two, is not yet difficult. But others there are who will rush, with Buzot, to Calvados; or far over France, to Lyons, Toulon, Nantes and elsewhere, and then rendezvous at Caen: to awaken as with war-trumpet the respectable Departments; and strike down an anarchic Mountain Faction; at least not yield without a stroke at it. Of this latter temper we count some score or more, of the Arrested, and of the Not-yet-arrested: a Buzot, a Barbaroux, Louvet, Guadet, Petion, who have escaped from Arrestment in their own homes; a Salles, a Pythagorean

¹[M. Eugène Hatin in his 'Bibliographie de la presse périodique,' Paris, 1866 (p. 240), says 'the *Bulletin de Caen* is a very curious journal' of the Girondists who had 'taken refuge at Caen and of the Federal Army; I only know of one perfect copy, in 'the Library of M. de la Sicotière.' A portion of it is however published at the end of Meillan's *Mémoires* (pp. 241-270), and gives an account of the events of June 22nd and 23rd, and July 4th, 5th, 6th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th.]

Valady, a Duchâtel, the Duchâtel that came in blanket and nightcap to vote for the life of Louis, who have escaped from danger and likelihood of Arrestment. These, to the number at one time of Twenty-seven, do accordingly lodge here, at the 'Intendance, or Departmental Mansion,' of the town of Caen in Calvados; welcomed by Persons in Authority; welcomed and defrayed, having no money of their own.¹ And the *Bulletin de Caen* comes forth, with the most animating paragraphs: How the Bourdeaux Department, the Lyons Department, this Department after the other is declaring itself; sixty, or say sixty-nine, or seventy-two² respectable Departments either declaring, or ready to declare. Nay Marseilles, it seems, will march on Paris by itself, if need be. So has Marseilles Town said, That she will march. But on the other hand, that Montélimart Town has said, No thoroughfare; and means even to 'bury herself'³ under her own stone and mortar first,—of this be no mention in *Bulletin de Caen*.

Such animating paragraphs we read in this new Newspaper; and fervours and eloquent sarcasm: tirades against the Mountain, from the pen of Deputy Salles; which resemble, say friends, Pascal's *Provincials*. What is more to the purpose, these Girondins have got a General in chief, one Wimpfen,⁴ formerly under Dumouriez; also a secondary questionable General Puisaye,⁵

¹[The Girondist deputies above mentioned, to whom we may add Lesage, arrived at Caen successively from June 12th—July 10th, but the insurrection of Calvados had been proclaimed independently of them, and Wimpfen had already accepted the command from the Municipal authorities. When they arrived they did nothing to help the insurrection (Biré, *Legende*, 357-8), but the risings were undoubtedly attributed in Paris to their machinations, and as a consequence of this Buzot was 'decreed accused.' (Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. 48.)]

² Meillan, pp. 72, 73; Louvet, p. 129.

³[Montélimart is the capital of a district in the Department Drôme, and had been the scene of the federation of the National Guards of the Vivarais and Dauphiné in Dec. '89.]

⁴[Félix Wimpfen, an Alsatian, born 1744, defended Thionville against the allies in 1792, was accused of treason for that deed and acquitted; appointed Commander of the Army of the Côtes de Cherbourg in May '93, and now in June General of the Army of l'Eure: escaped and remained in hiding after July 13th, died a Baron of the Empire 1814.]

⁵[Joseph, Comte de Puisaye, born 1754, served in the old Army, sat for the *Noblesse* of Perche in the States-General: became chief of Wimpfen's staff, escaped to Brittany and organised the *Chouans* there, and afterwards commanded the Royalists against Hoche at Quiberon, July '95 (*vid. infr.*, iii. 75-6 and 232).]

and others; and are doing their best to raise a force for war. National Volunteers, whosoever is of right heart: gather in, ye national Volunteers, friends of Liberty; from our Calvados Townships, from the Eure, from Brittany, from far and near: forward to Paris, and extinguish Anarchy! Thus at Caen, in the early July days, there is a drumming and parading, a perorating and consulting: Staff and Army; Council; Club of *Carabots*,¹ Anti-jacobin friends of Freedom, to denounce atrocious Marat. With all which, and the editing of *Bulletins*, a National Representative has his hands full.

At Caen it is most animated; and, as one hopes, more or less animated in the 'Seventy-two Departments that adhere to us.' And in a France begirt with Cimmerian invading Coalitions, and torn with an internal La Vendée, *this* is the conclusion we have arrived at: To put down Anarchy by Civil War! *Durum et durum*, the Proverb says, *non faciunt murum*. La Vendée burns: Santerre can do nothing there; he may return home and brew beer. Cimmerian bombshells fly all along the North. That Siege of Mentz is become famed;—lovers of the Picturesque (as Goethe will testify), washed country-people of both sexes, stroll thither on Sundays, to see the artillery work and counterwork; 'you only duck a little while the shot whizzes past.'² Condé is capitulating to the Austrians; Royal Highness of York, these several weeks, fiercely batters Valenciennes. For, alas, our fortified Camp of Famars was stormed; General Dampierre was

¹[The *Carabots* existed as a *Sansculotte* club in several Norman towns, the members wore the badge of a death's head on the left arm of their coats; they appear to have been violent Radicals, and to have been won over by some of the moderates to enlist in Wimpfen's little army, which was called *L'Armée départementale de l'Eure*. There are several explanations of the etymology of the word, but it is probably connected with the Norman patois word '*Carabin*,' meaning 'a rook' and (in Paris *argot*) a thief or scoundrel. (Cf. our English 'rook.') Another explanation is given by M. Vaultier in his '*Souvenirs de l'Insurrection Normande en 1793*' (Caen, 1858), pp. 9, 10, *viz.*, that the word is a corruption of *caporaux* (corporals) derisively applied to the lower ranks of the National Guard at Caen. The expression, writes M. Tourneux, whose kindness in replying to the question I here acknowledge, is also applied to the labourers in the ports of Havre and Rouen, and to rogues and vagabonds in Cherbourg; but he too is unable to trace the etymology of the word.]

² Belagerung von Mainz (Goethe's Werke, xxx. 278-334).

killed; General Custine was blamed,—and indeed is now come to Paris to give ‘explanations.’¹

Against all which the Mountain and atrocious Marat must even make head as they can. They, anarchic Convention as they are, publish Decrees, expostulatory, explanatory, yet not without severity; they ray forth Commissioners, singly or in pairs, the olive-branch in one hand, yet the sword in the other. Commissioners come even to Caen; but without effect. Mathematical Romme, and Prieur named of the Côte d’Or, venturing thither, with their olive and sword, are packed into prison: there may Romme lie, under lock and key, ‘for fifty days;’² and meditate his New Calendar, if he please. Cimmericia, La Vendée, and Civil War! Never was Republic One and Indivisible at a lower ebb.—

Amid which dim ferment of Caen and the World, History specially notices one thing: in the lobby of the Mansion *de l’Intendance*, where busy Deputies are coming and going, a young Lady

¹[The disasters of the summer followed hard on that of Neerwinden. Dampierre (Army of the North) was killed May 1st, and Custine replaced him, Houchard replacing Custine (Army of Rhine). The Spaniards forced the Pyrenees and the Vendéans took Fontenay in May. The impotence of the Government sought its revenge in attacking the Generals, whose armies they left without supplies or weapons. Custine, Biron and Kellermann were successively haled to the bar of the Convention and imprisoned, and this condition of things lasted till August. Had it not been for the hopeless discussions of the allies, France might have been overrun; (Condé fell on July 12th, Valenciennes on 28th). But England alone was in earnest. Coburg dreaded a repetition of Brunswick’s misfortunes of 1792, and even refused to assist York in the siege of Dunkirk. One learns from Mercy (*see* Bacourt, iii. 411, 426) how the wisest Austrian statesmen chafed against Thugut’s hesitating policy. But with the exception of the recapture of Mainz the Prussians were just as slack. And no attention was paid to the excellent chance for the allies offered by La Vendée until October, when England made an attempt to induce the French princes to join a descent there; which the princes would not do.

Some of the French disasters were no doubt due to the wretched character of the three men who successively held the War Office, Pache, Beurnonville and Bouchotte (the latter held the office far into the period of victory, *i.e.*, till March ’94, but from August he had Carnot to keep him in order). The state of the Army of the North may be judged from some passages in Carnot’s Correspondence. In one garrison (Douai) he found 350 men and 3,000 women lodged in barracks: “the new law has ordered that married soldiers may be lodged in barracks—by their own account they are all married” (ii. 116). ‘*Père Duchesne* and the *Petit Républicain* are distributed gratis to the soldiers, and are full of attacks on their Generals.’ Custine complained of it (*ibid.* 204). There was a constant drain of men for La Vendée (by order of May 4th 54 men were drafted from each battalion from the Armies of North and Ardennes (*ibid.* 245)).]

²[Prieur and Romme were arrested at Caen June 2nd, and released July 23rd.]

with an aged valet, taking grave graceful leave¹ of Deputy Barbaroux.² She is of stately Norman figure; in her twenty-fifth year; of beautiful still countenance: her name is Charlotte Corday,³ heretofore styled D'Armans, while Nobility still was. Barbaroux has given her a Note to Deputy Duperret,—him who once drew his sword in the effervescence.⁴ Apparently she will to Paris on some errand? 'She was a Republican before the Revolution, and never wanted energy.' A completeness, a decision is in this fair female Figure: 'by energy she means the spirit that will prompt one to sacrifice himself for his country.' What if she, this fair young Charlotte, had emerged from her secluded stillness, suddenly like a Star; cruel-lovely, with half-angelic, half-dæmonic splendour; to gleam for a moment, and in a moment be extinguished: to be held in memory, so bright complete was she, through long centuries!—Quitting Cimmerician Coalitions without, and the dim-simmering Twenty-five millions within, History will look fixedly at this one fair Apparition of a Charlotte Corday; will note whither Charlotte moves, how the little Life burns forth so radiant, then vanishes swallowed of the Night.

With Barbaroux's Note of Introduction, and slight stock of luggage, we see Charlotte on Tuesday the ninth of July seated in the Caen Diligence, with a place for Paris. None takes farewell of her, wishes her Good-journey: her Father will find a line left, signifying that she is gone to England, that he must pardon her, and forget her. The drowsy Diligence lumbers along; amid drowsy talk of Politics, and praise of the Mountain; in which she mingles not: all night, all day, and again all night. On Thursday,⁵ not long before noon, we are at the bridge of Neuilly; here is Paris with her thousand black domes, the goal and purpose of thy journey! Arrived at the Inn de la Providence in the Rue

¹[July 9th.]

²Meillan, p. 75; Louvet, p. 114.

³[Marie-Anne-Charlotte-Corday d'Armans, born 1768, educated at a convent in Caen, where she met and fell in love with Colonel de Belzunce, who was murdered by the mob of Caen in 1790. (See Campardon, i. 62 note, who however is not convinced of the truth of the story that it was revenge for his murder that prompted her to kill Marat.)]

⁴[Duperret was one of the still unproscribed Girondin deputies.]

⁵[July 11th.]

des Vieux Augustins,¹ Charlotte demands a room ; hastens to bed ; sleeps all afternoon and night, till the morrow morning.

On the morrow morning, she delivers her Note to Duperret. It relates to certain Family Papers which are in the Minister of the Interior's hand ; which a Nun at Caen, an old Convent-friend of Charlotte's, has need of ; which Duperret shall assist her in getting : this then was Charlotte's errand to Paris ? She has finished this, in the course of Friday ;—yet says nothing of returning. She has seen and silently investigated several things. The Convention, in bodily reality, she has seen ;² what the Mountain is like. The living physiognomy of Marat she could not see ; he is sick at present, and confined to home.

About eight on the Saturday morning, she purchases a large sheath-knife in the Palais Royal ; then straightway, in the Place des Victoires, takes a hackney-coach : “ To the Rue de l'École de Médecine, No. 44.”³ It is the residence of the Citoyen Marat !—The Citoyen Marat is ill, and cannot be seen ; which seems to disappoint her much. Her business is with Marat, then ? Hapless beautiful Charlotte ; hapless squalid Marat ! From Caen in the utmost West, from Neuchâtel in the utmost East, they two are drawing nigh each other ; they two have, very strangely, business together.—Charlotte, returning to her Inn, despatches a short Note to Marat ; signifying that she is from Caen, the seat of rebellion ; that she desires earnestly to see him, and ‘ will put it in his power to do France a great service.’ No answer. Charlotte writes another Note, still more pressing ; sets out with it by coach, about seven in the evening, herself. Tired day-labourers have again finished their Week ; huge Paris is circling and simmering, manifold, according to its vague wont : this one fair Figure has decision in it ; drives straight,—towards a purpose.

It is yellow July evening, we say, the thirteenth of the month ; eve of the Bastille day,—when ‘ M. Marat,’ four years ago, in the

¹[Now Rue d'Argout.]

²[It is probable that she had intended to assassinate Marat in the Convention, or at the *Fête* of July 14th, which however did not take place in 1793.]

³[The Rue de l'École de Médecine was then called Rue des Cordeliers, and Marat's number was 30. (Campardon, i. 31.)]

crowd of the Pont Neuf, shrewdly required of that Besenval Hussar-party, which had such friendly dispositions, "to dismount, and give up their arms, then;" and became notable among Patriot men. Four years: what a road he has travelled;—and sits now, about half-past seven of the clock, stewing in slipper-bath; sore afflicted; ill of Revolution Fever,—of what other malady this History had rather not name. Excessively sick and worn, poor man: with precisely eleven-pence-halfpenny of ready money, in paper; with slipper-bath; strong three-footed stool for writing on, the while; and a squalid—Washerwoman,¹ one may call her: that is his civic establishment in Medical-School Street; thither and not elsewhere has his road led him. Not to the reign of Brotherhood and Perfect Felicity; yet surely on the way towards that?—Hark, a rap again! A musical woman's voice, refusing to be rejected: it is the Citoyenne who would do France a service. Marat, recognising from within, cries, Admit her. Charlotte Corday is admitted.

Citoyen Marat, I am from Caen the seat of rebellion, and wished to speak with you.—Be seated, *mon enfant*. Now what are the Traitors doing at Caen? What Deputies are at Caen?—Charlotte names some Deputies. "Their heads shall fall within a fortnight," croaks the eager People's-friend, clutching his tablets to write: *Barbaroux*, *Petion*, writes he with bare shrunk arm, turning aside in the bath: *Petion*, and *Louvet*, and—Charlotte has drawn her knife from the sheath; plunges it, with one sure stroke, into the writer's heart. "*À moi, chère amie*, Help, dear!" no more could the Death-choked say or shriek. The helpful Washerwoman running in, there is no Friend of the People, or Friend of the Washerwoman left; but his life with a groan gushes out, indignant, to the shades below.²

¹[Nothing is known of the origin of Simonne Évrard, who passed as Marat's mistress. She seems to have made his acquaintance early in the Revolution (about May '90, says Chevrement, i. 255), and to have devoted her small fortune to the publication of *L'Ami du Peuple*: the sister of Marat (*vid. infr.*, iii. 68) recognised her devotion to her brother, and took her to live with her after his death. M. Bougeart weeps hysterically over these two females having to earn their living and finding it difficult to do so. (See also Cabanis, Marat Inconnu, p. 261.)]

²Moniteur, Nos. 197, 8, 9; Hist. Parl. xxviii. 301-5; Deux Amis, x. 368-74.

And so Marat People's-friend is ended; the lone Stylites has got hurled down suddenly from his Pillar—*whitheward* He that made him knows. Patriot Paris may sound triple and tenfold, in dole and wail; re-echoed by Patriot France; and the Convention, 'Chabot pale with terror, declaring that they are to be all assassinated,' may decree him Pantheon Honours, Public Funeral, Mira-beau's dust making way for him; and Jacobin Societies, in lamentable oratory, summing up his character, parallel him to One, whom they think it honour to call 'the good Sansculotte,'—whom we name not here;¹ also a Chapel may be made, for the urn that holds his Heart, in the Place du Carrousel; and newborn children be named Marat; and Lago-di-Como Hawkers bake mountains of stucco into unbeautiful Busts; and David paint his Picture, or Death-Scene; and such other Apotheosis take place as the human genius, in these circumstances, can devise:² but Marat returns no more to the light of this Sun. One sole circumstance we have read with clear sympathy, in the old *Moniteur* Newspaper: how Marat's Brother comes from Neuchâtel to ask of the Convention, 'that the deceased Jean-Paul Marat's musket be given him.'³ For Marat too had a brother, and natural affections; and was wrapt once in swaddling-clothes, and slept safe in a cradle like the rest of us. Ye children of men!—A sister of his, they say, lives still to this day in Paris.⁴

As for Charlotte Corday, her work is accomplished; the recompense of it is near and sure. The *chère amie*, and neighbours of the house, flying at her, she 'overturns some movables,' entrenches herself till the gendarmes arrive; then quietly surrenders; goes quietly to the Abbaye Prison: she alone quiet, all

¹ See *Éloge funèbre de Jean-Paul Marat, prononcé à Strasbourg* (in Barbaroux, pp. 125-131); Mercier, &c.

² [Marat was deified at once: on July 14th a deputation of the Section *Contrat Social* came to the Convention, demanding that Charlotte should be put to death with extraordinary and horrible tortures: it is greatly to the credit of the Convention that it refused this demand: the funeral of Marat was organised with the greatest splendour for July 19th.]

³ Séance du 16 Septembre 1793.

⁴ [Albertine Marat, born at Paris 1757, much resembled her brother in personal appearance, and was a devoted sister. She earned her living by making fine springs of watches, and died in Paris in the greatest poverty 1841. (Cabanis, 265, *sqq.*)]

Paris sounding, in wonder, in rage or admiration, round her. Duperret is put in arrest, on account of her; his Papers sealed,—which may lead to consequences. Fauchet, in like manner; though Fauchet had not so much as heard of her. Charlotte, confronted with these two Deputies, praises the grave firmness of Duperret, censures the dejection of Fauchet.

On Wednesday morning,¹ the thronged Palais de Justice and Revolutionary Tribunal can see her face; beautiful and calm: she dates it ‘fourth day of the Preparation of Peace.’ A strange murmur ran through the Hall, at sight of her; you could not say of what character.² Tinville has his indictments and tape-papers: the cutler of the Palais Royal will testify that he sold her the sheath-knife; “All these details are needless,” interrupted Charlotte; “it is I that killed Marat.” By whose instigation?—“By no one’s.” What tempted you, then? His crimes. “I killed one man,” added she, raising her voice extremely (*extrêmement*), as they went on with their questions, “I killed one man to save a hundred thousand; a villain to save innocents; a savage wild-beast to give repose to my country. I was a Republican before the Revolution; I never wanted energy.” There is therefore nothing to be said. The public gazes astonished: the hasty limners sketch her features, Charlotte not disapproving: the men of law proceed with their formalities. The doom is Death as a murderess. To her Advocate she gives thanks;³ in gentle phrase, in high-flown classical spirit. To the Priest they send her she gives thanks; but needs not any shriving, any ghostly or other aid from him.⁴

On this same evening therefore, about half-past seven o’clock,

¹[July 17th.]

²Procès de Charlotte Corday, &c. (Hist. Parl. xxviii. 311-338).

³[Charlotte was defended by Chauveau-Lagarde: she had written to ask Pontécoulant to defend her, but the letter did not reach him; Lagarde made no attempt to disprove the facts. The interrogatory began on 16th, the trial was on 17th. (Campardon, i. 70, *sqq.*) She desired to be painted, but the request was refused; she had intended to send her portrait to her native Department, a curious instance of the vanity of a homicide (*ibid.* 75).]

⁴[We have no evidence of Charlotte’s religious feeling, but it is probable—practically certain—that the ‘priest’ was an *assermenté* and therefore, if she were a Catholic, no priest to her.]

from the gate of the Conciergerie, to a City all on tiptoe, the fatal Cart issues; seated on it a fair young creature, sheeted in red smock of Murderess; so beautiful, serene, so full of life; journeying towards death,—alone amid the World. Many take off their hats, saluting reverently; for what heart but must be touched?¹ Others growl and howl. Adam Lux, of Mentz, declares that she is greater than Brutus;² that it were beautiful to die with her: the head of this young man seems turned. At the Place de la Révolution, the countenance of Charlotte wears the same still smile. The executioners proceed to bind her feet; she resists, thinking it meant as an insult; on a word of explanation, she submits with cheerful apology. As the last act, all being now ready, they take the neckerchief, from her neck; a blush of maidenly shame overspreads that fair face and neck; the cheeks were still tinged with it when the executioner lifted the severed head, to show it to the people. ‘It is most true,’ says Forster, ‘that he struck the cheek insultingly; for I saw it with my eyes: the Police imprisoned him for it.’³

In this manner have the Beautifullest and the Squalidest come in collision, and extinguished one another. Jean-Paul Marat and Marie-Anne Charlotte Corday both, suddenly, are no more. ‘Day of the Preparation of Peace?’ Alas, how were peace possible or preparable, while, for example, the hearts of lovely Maidens, in their convent-stillness, are dreaming not of Love-paradises, and the light of Life; but of Codrus’-sacrifices, and Death well-earned? That Twenty-five million hearts have got to such temper, this *is* the Anarchy; the soul of it lies in this: whereof not peace can be the embodiment! The death of Marat, whetting old animosities tenfold, will be

¹ Deux Amis, x. 374-384.

²[Adam Lux, born 1766, was one of the deputies for the ‘Rhenish Convention’ of Mainz, who came to Paris to arrange for the incorporation of the Electorate with France. He actually placarded the walls of Paris with a demand that a statue should be erected to Charlotte; he was arrested July 28th, guillotined Nov. 4th; André Chénier also celebrated Charlotte in some eloquent verses. (Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. 163.)]

³Briefwechsel, i. 508. [The executioner’s assistant called Legros is the man referred to. (Campardon, i. 81.)]

worse than any life. O ye hapless Two, mutually extinctive, the Beautiful and the Squalid, sleep ye well,—in the Mother's bosom that bore you both!

This is the History of Charlotte Corday; most definite, most complete; angelic-dæmonic: like a Star! Adam Lux goes home, half delirious; to pour forth his Apotheosis of her, in paper and print; to propose that she have a statue with this inscription, *Greater than Brutus*. Friends represent his danger; Lux is reckless; thinks it were beautiful to die with her.

[The Epoch of the death of Marat is also that of the creation of the Final or 'Great' Committee of Public Safety (*vid. supr.*, iii. 34). This Committee was to pass under the influence of Robespierre almost as completely as that of April 6th had passed under that of Danton. Its members (elected July 10th by the whole Convention) were Saint-André, Gasparin, Couthon, Héroult-Séchelles, Prieur de la Marne, Saint-Just, Lindet, Thuriot, Barère; Gasparin resigned July 27th and was replaced by Robespierre; Thuriot also resigned, Héroult was eliminated, Dec. '93. Carnot and Prieur de la Côte d'Or were elected Aug. 14th; Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varennes Sept. 6th. All Danton's wise plans for peace and moderation vanished with the creation of this Committee. The report of the outgoing Committee made by Cambon on July 11th should be compared with that of the incoming one made by Barère Aug. 1st. (Stephens' Orators of the Fr. Rev. i. 507 and ii. 10.)

This is essentially the Government of the Terror: but not all its members were equally guilty of the acts of terror. The real workers in the Committee, the "men who saved France" (so far as she was saved), were (besides Carnot and Saint-André), (1) *Prieur de la Marne*, an advocate, deputy for Châlons to States-General and for the Marne to the Convention, President of the Criminal Tribunal of Paris 1791, compromised in the rising of Prairial 1795, banished 1816, died at Brussels 1827.

(2) *Prieur du Vernois* (de la Côte d'Or), born 1763, Captain in the Engineers in the old Army, deputy for Côte d'Or to Legislative and Convention, member of Council of 500, *Chef de Brigade* 1801, died at Dijon 1832.

(3) *Robert Lindet*, born 1746, an advocate, deputy for the Eure to the Legislative and Convention, implicated in Prairial and in Babœuf's plot, finance minister for a short time in the last days of the Directory, died in obscurity 1825.

It is extremely difficult to pass a fair judgment on the acts of the Committee as a whole. It is generally understood that the special measures of 'Terror' owed their origin to the savage character of Billaud and Collot even more than to Robespierre, Couthon and Saint-Just, who were more busy scheming against their private enemies both within and without the Committee (for there is ample evidence of fierce quarrels inside it); the Navy was mainly turned over to Saint-André, the Army to Carnot, Lindet and Prieur Côte d'Or; the signatures appended to the *Actes* in Aulard's vast *Recueil* are sometimes as few as two to each, and Carnot constantly avowed afterwards that he often signed *Actes* which he had never read, being far too busy to do so. No Government ever disposed so absolutely of the whole resources of a very rich country, with one good (1793) and one splendid (1794) harvest to aid it: if it was ultimately victorious, it was so at a most unheard-of cost of treasure, and mere bankruptcy was left behind it; at a most unheard-of cost of lives, as all the military historians bear witness; and, worst of all perhaps, at the entire cost of local freedom, such as might have taken root from a reconstruction of the *Ancien Régime*. The Committee increased ten-fold the despotism of the old Monarchy, and handed

it on to Napoleon. It taught once more to all local authorities the lesson to look to the centre alone for the initiative; in so doing it was forced to over-burden itself with details to a ludicrous extent. Finally one is tempted to conclude that even its working members were industrious and resolute men indeed, but without any marked talents for administration.

The Subordinate Committee of General Security, the second and much smaller wheel of the governmental machine, was organised on June 16th '93, and reconstituted on Sept. 14th. It was mainly concerned with matters of police, and became in the end more specially devoted to Robespierre than the Greater Committee. Its members were Vadier, Amar, Panis, David, Guffroy, Lavicomterie, Ruhl, Vouland, Bayle, Lebas, Lebon, Louis.

For the methods of work of the Committees, *vid. infr.*, iii. 144.]

CHAPTER II

IN CIVIL WAR

BUT during these same hours, another guillotine is at work, on another: Charlotte, for the Girondins, dies at Paris today;¹ Chalier, by the Girondins, dies at Lyons tomorrow.²

From rumbling of cannon along the streets of that City, it has come to firing of them, to rabid fighting: Nièvre Chol and the Girondins triumph;—behind whom there is, as everywhere, a Royalist Faction waiting to strike in. Trouble enough at Lyons; and the dominant party carrying it with a high hand! For, indeed, the whole South is astir; incarcerating Jacobins; arming for Girondins: wherefore we have got a 'Congress of Lyons;' also a 'Revolutionary Tribunal of Lyons,' and Anarchists shall tremble. So Chalier was soon found guilty, of Jacobinism, of murderous Plot, 'address with drawn dagger on the sixth of February last;' and, on the morrow, he also travels his final road, along the streets of Lyons, 'by the side of an ecclesiastic, with whom he seems to speak earnestly,'—the axe now glittering nigh. He could weep, in old years, this man, and 'fall on his knees on the pavement,' blessing Heaven at sight of Federation Programs or the like: then he pilgrimed to Paris, to worship Marat and the Mountain: now Marat and he are both gone;—we said he could not end well. Jacobinism groans inwardly, at Lyons; but dare not outwardly. Chalier,

¹[July 17th.]

²[July 16th.]

when the Tribunal sentenced him, made answer: "My death will cost this City dear."¹

Montélimart Town is not buried under its ruins; yet Marseilles² is actually marching, under order of a 'Lyons Congress;' is incarcerating Patriots; the very Royalists now showing face. Against which a General Cartaux fights,³ though in small force; and with him an Artillery Major, of the name of—Napoleon Buonaparte. This Napoleon, to prove that the Marseilles have no chance ultimately, not only fights but writes; publishes his *Supper of Beaucaire*, a Dialogue which has become curious.⁴ Unfortunate Cities, with their actions and their reactions! Violence to be paid with violence in geometrical ratio; Royalism and Anarchism both striking in;—the final net-amount of which geometrical series, what man shall sum?

The Bar of Iron has never yet floated in Marseilles Harbour; but the Body of Rebecqui was found floating,⁵ self-drowned there.

¹[On July 3rd the Convention ordered the Commissioners who were with the Army of the Alps to proceed against Lyons, and on 12th proscribed the whole of the Moderate faction of that city, ordering distribution of their property to their rivals. Preçy became commander at Lyons on 14th, Chalier was guillotined on 16th; he was a Piedmontese by birth.]

²[The preparations of Marseilles for resistance were more noisy, but less efficacious than those of Lyons; it expelled its Convention Commissioners (Bayle and Boisset), named a central committee and collected Volunteers, who managed to cross the Durance and to push as far as Orange, hoping to join with the insurgents of Nîmes: but they retired upon Avignon before the end of July. (See Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. 101, *sqq.*)]

³[Carteaux was detached with 1,500 men from the Army of the Alps (sent against Lyons) by order of the Convention. On July 27th he drove the *Marseillais* from Avignon, beat them at Cadenet and Salon in August, and finally entered Marseilles on Aug. 25th (*vid. infr.*, iii. 124). No serious resistance was made and the Terror there began early in September. Carteaux had been in the old Army, but had retired and became an artist; he had also served on Lafayette's staff; he was arrested in Dec. 1793, and imprisoned till after Thermidor; died 1813.]

⁴See Hazlitt, ii. 529-41. [The *Souper de Beaucaire* has been republished with an historical introduction by M. Charvet (Avignon, 1881). Napoleon during the struggle outside Marseilles happened to dine at Beaucaire at an inn, and to get in conversation with four merchants from Nîmes, who were attending the fair at Beaucaire (July 29th). A few days afterwards he published at Avignon the substance of the conversation (at the expense of the *Commune*; Napoleon was very poor at the time). Each of the five speakers is represented as having a separate remedy for the existing evils of France; but the gist of the whole is that the *Montagne* is right because it is the stronger of the contending factions. Neither Carlyle, nor Napoleon himself in his later days, could have contended more stoutly than the young author that Providence is on the side of the big battalions.]

⁵[May 3rd '94.]

Hot Rebecqui, seeing how confusion deepened, and Respectability grew poisoned with Royalism, felt that there was no refuge for a Republican but death. Rebecqui disappeared: no one knew whither; till, one morning, they found the empty case or body of him risen to the top, tumbling on the salt waves;¹ and perceived that Rebecqui had withdrawn forever. —Toulon² likewise is incarcerating Patriots; sending delegates to Congress; intriguing, in case of necessity, with the Royalists and English. Montpellier, Bourdeaux, Nantes: all France, that is not under the swoop of Austria and Cimmeria, seems rushing into madness, and suicidal ruin. The Mountain labours; like a volcano in a burning volcanic Land. Convention Committees, of Surety, of Salvation, are busy night and day: Convention Commissioners whirl on all highways; bearing olive-branch and sword, or now perhaps sword only.³ Chaumette and Municipals come daily to the Tuileries demanding a Constitution: it is some weeks now since he resolved, in Townhall, that a Deputation 'should go every day,' and demand a Constitution, till one were got;⁴ whereby suicidal France might rally and pacify itself; a thing inexpressibly desirable.

This then is the fruit your Antianarchic Girondins have got from that Levying of War in Calvados? This fruit, we may say; and no other whatsoever. For indeed, before either Charlotte's or Chalier's head had fallen, the Calvados War itself

¹ Barbaroux, p. 29. [Rebecqui had resigned his seat in the Convention in April, and so does not figure at first on the list of the proscribed: but he appears in Amar's report Oct. 3rd: he remained in hiding, and drowned himself in May '94.]

²[As far back as 1789 Dr. Rigby (p. 139) noticed that there were no signs of rejoicing at the Revolution in Toulon, where all the chief people were in Government employment, or connected with the dockyard (*vid. infr.*, iii. 89).]

³[We must distinguish between the three *Représentants en mission* voted to be perpetually with each army (*vid. supr.*, ii. 279), and the Special Commissions, like those of Saint-Just to Alsace, Carrier to Nantes, Couthon and Collot to Lyons, Le Bon to Arras, Maignet to Orange, etc. It is these last who get the nickname of 'proconsuls,' and correspond directly with the *Comité de Salut Public*; they take their orders mainly from Billaud and Collot.]

⁴*Deux Amis*, x. 345. [It is obvious that the loud talk about a new Constitution gave an excellent breathing space to the *Montagne*, for it gave Paris the needful *τι καινον* to talk about, and so diverted the populace from the fate of the imprisoned Conventionals.]

had, as it were, vanished, dreamlike, in a shriek! With 'seventy-two Departments' on our side, one might have hoped better things. But it turns out that Respectabilities, though they will vote, will not fight. Possession always is nine points in Law; but in Lawsuits of *this* kind, one may say, it is ninety-and-nine points. Men do what they were wont to do; and have immense irresolution and inertia: they obey him who has the symbols that claim obedience. Consider what, in modern society, this one fact means: the Metropolis is with our enemies! Metropolis, *Mother-City*; rightly so named: all the rest are but as her children, her nurslings. Why, there is not a leathern Diligence, with its post-bags and luggage-boots, that lumbers out from her, but is as a huge life-pulse; she is the heart of all. Cut short that one leathern Diligence, how much is cut short!—General Wimpfen, looking practically into the matter, can see nothing for it but that one should fall back on Royalism; get into communication with Pitt! Dark innuendos he flings out, to that effect: whereat we Girondins start, horror-struck. He produces as his Second in command a certain '*Cidevant*,' one Comte Puisaye; entirely unknown to Louvet; greatly suspected by him.

Few wars, accordingly, were ever levied of a more insufficient character than this of Calvados. He that is curious in such things may read the details of it in the Memoirs of that same *Cidevant* Puisaye, the much-enduring man and Royalist: How our Girondin National forces, marching off with plenty of wind-music, were drawn out about the old Château of Brécourt, in the wood-country near Vernon, to meet the Mountain National forces advancing from Paris. How on the fifteenth afternoon of July, they did meet;—and, as it were, shrieked mutually and took mutually to flight, without loss. How Puisaye thereafter,—for the Mountain Nationals fled first, and we thought ourselves the victors,—was roused from his warm bed in the Castle of Brécourt; and had to gallop without boots; our Nationals, in the night-watches, having fallen unexpectedly into *sauve-qui-peut*:—and in brief the Calvados War had burnt priming; and

the only question now was, Whitherward to vanish, in what hole to hide oneself!¹

The National Volunteers rush homewards, faster than they came. The Seventy-two Respectable Departments, says Meillan, 'all turned round and forsook us, in the space of four-and-twenty 'hours.' Unhappy those who, as at Lyons for instance, have gone too far for turning! 'One morning,' we find placarded on our Intendance Mansion, the Decree of Convention which casts us *Hors la loi*, into Outlawry; placarded by our Caen Magistrates;—clear hint that we also are to vanish. Vanish indeed: but whitherward? Gorsas has friends in Rennes; he will hide there,—unhappily will not lie hid. Guadet, Lanjuinais are on cross roads; making for Bourdeaux.² To Bourdeaux! cries the general voice, of Valour alike and of Despair. Some flag of Respectability still floats there, or is thought to float.

Thitherward therefore; each as he can! Eleven of these ill-fated Deputies, among whom we may count as twelfth, Friend Riouffe the Man of Letters, do an original thing: Take the uniform of National Volunteers, and retreat southward with the Breton Battalion, as private soldiers of that corps. These brave Bretons had stood truer by us than any other. Nevertheless, at the end of a day or two, they also do now get dubious, self-divided; we must part from them; and, with some half-dozen

¹ Mémoires de Puisaye (London, 1803), ii. 142-67. [This refers to the little skirmish known as the 'combat of Vernon' (in the Dept. of l'Eure), on July 13th, where the little army of Calvados met some Parisian volunteers *plus* the National Guards of Vernon and its neighbourhood. No one was killed, but Puisaye's troops seem to have run away the faster: when the news reached Caen, the Girondin deputies left Caen for Quimper and Brest to take ship for Bourdeaux.]

² [Bordeaux would not have been of much use if they had reached it: on the news of June 2nd the Bordelais declaimed and created Committees, but levied no troops and manifested no enthusiasm to proceed to the extremities of rebellion; there were however certain popular outbreaks in the Department of the Gironde, and the Convention Commissioners (Treilhard and Mathieu) were unable to reach Bourdeaux: on Aug. 2nd the governing Committee of Moderates at Bourdeaux dissolved itself, but the Convention spared no threats of vengeance: at the end of August the citizens in despair prepared for resistance, ejected two new Convention Commissioners, who had managed to get in, and who retired and gathered together some sort of Jacobin army outside: a blockade began in September; the city surrendered on Sept. 19th, but the Conventionals dared not trust themselves inside till Oct. 16th, when fresh troops had been moved up. Then the massacres began under Ysabeau and Tallien. (Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. 116, 197, *sqq.*)]

as convoy or guide, retreat by ourselves,—a solitary marching detachment, through waste regions of the West.¹

[Roughly speaking there were three serious centres of resistance to the *Montagne* in the summer of '93, *viz.*, (i.) La Vendée, (ii.) Normandy, (iii.) Lyons, Marseilles and Toulon. The news of the Southern Insurrection began to filter into Paris in the first week in June, that of the Northern when the Convention Commissioners were seized, in the same week. Although some 50 departments gave encouraging answers to the manifesto from Calvados, yet when a review of the National Guard was held on July 7th at Caen, and Volunteers for the Civil War asked for, it was found impossible to collect any serious number. The flag of the Moderate Republic was in fact not a flag at all, and La Vendée had the only flag in the West that was worth raising. Dutard (*see* his letter of June 13th in Schmidt, vol. ii.) evidently expects the *Vendéans* in Paris, and thinks the Parisians as a whole will be pleased with their coming.

The Southern Insurrection was more serious; help for that might be expected from the excellent fighting material of Piedmont and even from Switzerland. This danger was not really over till the fall of Lyons on Oct. 9th; Lindet (sent to Lyons June 2nd) was soon recalled as being too mild; his letter of June 9th (Aulard, *Recueil*, iv. 497) shows the deep cleavage between North and South. He was soon after sent as Commissioner to his native Normandy, where he succeeded, as no one else could have done, in pacifying the province almost without executions. He remained there till Nov. 1st.]

CHAPTER III

RETREAT OF THE ELEVEN

It is one of the notablest Retreats, this of the Eleven, that History presents: The handful of forlorn Legislators retreating there, continually, with shouldered firelock and well-filled cartridge-box, in the yellow autumn; long hundreds of miles between them and Bourdeaux; the country all getting hostile, suspicious of the truth; simmering and buzzing on all sides, more and more. Louvet has preserved the Itinerary of it; a piece worth all the rest he ever wrote.

O virtuous Petion, with thy early-white head, O brave young Barbaroux, has it come to this? Weary ways, worn shoes, light purse;—encompassed with perils as with a sea! Revolutionary Committees are in every Township; of Jacobin temper; our friends all cowed, our cause the losing one. In the Borough of Moncontour, by ill chance, it is market-day: to the gaping public such transit of a solitary Marching Detachment is suspicious; we have need of energy, of promptitude and luck, to be

¹ Louvet, pp. 101-137; Meillan, pp. 81, 241-70.

allowed to march through. Hasten, ye weary pilgrims! The country is getting up; noise of you is bruited day after day, a solitary Twelve¹ retreating in this mysterious manner: with every new day, a wider wave of inquisitive pursuing tumult is stirred up, till the whole West will be in motion. 'Cussy is tormented with gout, Buzot is too fat for marching.' Riouffe, blistered, bleeding, marches only on tiptoe; Barbaroux limps with sprained ancle, yet ever cheery, full of hope and valour. Light Louvet glances hare-eyed, not hare-hearted: only virtuous Petion's serenity 'was but once seen ruffled.'² They lie in straw-lofts, in woody brakes; rudest paille on the floor of a secret friend is luxury. They are seized in the dead of night by Jacobin mayors and tap of drum; get off by firm countenance, rattle of muskets, and ready wit.

Of Bourdeaux, through fiery La Vendée and the long geographical spaces that remain, it were madness to think: well, if you can get to Quimper on the sea-coast, and take shipping there. Faster, ever faster! Before the end of the march, so hot has the country grown, it is found advisable to march all night. They do it; under the still night-canopy they plod along;—and yet behold, Rumour has outplodded them. In the paltry Village of Carhaix (be its thatched huts and bottomless peat-bogs long notable to the Traveller) one is astonished to find light still glimmering: citizens are awake, with rushlights burning, in that nook of the terrestrial Planet; as we traverse swiftly the one poor street, a voice is heard saying, "There they are, *Les voilà qui passent!*"³ Swifter, ye doomed lame Twelve: speed ere they can arm; gain the Woods of Quimper before day, and lie squatted there!

The doomed Twelve do it; though with difficulty, with loss of road, with peril and the mistakes of a night. In Quimper are Girondin friends, who perhaps will harbour the homeless, till a Bourdeaux ship weigh. Wayworn, heartworn, in agony of suspense, till Quimper friendship get warning, they lie there, squatted

¹[The twelve were, according to Louvet, himself, Barbaroux, Salles, Buzot, Cussy (director of the Mint at Caen and deputy for Calvados to the Convention), Lesage, Bergoeing, Giroust, Meillan, Girey-Dupré, Petion and Riouffe.]

²Meillan, pp. 119-137. ³Louvet, pp. 138-164.

under the thick wet boscage; suspicious of the face of man. Some pity to the brave; to the unhappy! Unhappiest of all Legislators, O when ye packed your luggage, some score or two-score months ago, and mounted this or the other leathern vehicle, to be Conscript Fathers of a regenerated France, and reap deathless laurels,—did ye think your journey was to lead *hither*? The Quimper Samaritans find them squatted; lift them up to help and comfort; will hide them in sure places. Thence let them dissipate gradually; or there they can lie quiet, and write *Memoirs*, till a Bourdeaux ship sail.

And thus, in Calvados all is dissipated; Romme is out of prison, meditating his Calendar; ringleaders are locked in his room. At Caen the Corday family mourns in silence: Buzot's House is a heap of dust and demolition; and amid the rubbish sticks a Gallows; with this inscription, *Here dwelt the Traitor Buzot who conspired against the Republic.* Buzot and the other vanished Deputies are *hors la loi*, as we saw; their lives free to take where they can be found. The worse fares it with the poor Arrested visible Deputies at Paris. 'Arrestment at home' threatens to become 'Confinement in the Luxembourg;' to end: *where*? For example, what pale-visaged thin man is this, journeying towards Switzerland as a Merchant of Neuchâtel, whom they arrest in the town of Moulins?¹ To Revolutionary Committee he is suspect. To Revolutionary Committee, on probing the matter, he is evidently: Deputy Brissot! Back to thy Arrestment, poor Brissot; or indeed to strait confinement,—whither others are fated to follow. Rabaut has built himself a false-partition, in a friend's house; lives, in invisible darkness, between two walls. It will end, this same Arrestment business, in Prison, and the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Nor must we forget Duperré, and the seal put on his papers by reason of Charlotte. One paper is there, fit to breed woe enough: A secret solemn Protest against that *suprema dies* of the

¹[June 20th.]

Second of June! This Secret Protest¹ our poor Duperret had drawn up, the same week, in all plainness of speech; waiting the time for publishing it: to which Secret Protest his signature, and that of other honourable Deputies not a few, stands legibly appended. And now, if the seals were once broken, the Mountain still victorious? Such Protesters, your Merciers, Bailleuls, Seventy-three by the tale, what yet remains of Respectable Girondism in the Convention, may tremble to think!—These are the fruits of levying civil war.

Also we find, that in these last days of July, the famed Siege of Mentz is *finished*: the Garrison to march out with honours of war; not to serve against the Coalition for a year.² Lovers of the Picturesque, and Goethe standing on the Chaussée of Mentz, saw, with due interest, the Procession issuing forth, in all solemnity:

‘Escorted by Prussian horse came first the French Garrison. ‘Nothing could look stranger than this latter; a column of Mar-seillese, slight, swarthy, parti-coloured, in patched clothes, came ‘tripping on;—as if King Edwin had opened the Dwarf Hill, and ‘sent out his nimble Host of Dwarfs. Next followed regular ‘troops; serious, sullen; not as if downcast or ashamed. But ‘the remarkablest appearance, which struck every one, was that ‘of the Chasers (*Chasseurs*) coming out mounted: they had ad- ‘vanced quite silent to where we stood, when their Band struck ‘up the *Marseillaise*. This revolutionary *Te-Deum* has in itself ‘something mournful and bodeful, however briskly played; but at ‘present they gave it in altogether slow time, proportionate to the ‘creeping step they rode at. It was piercing and fearful, and a ‘most serious-looking thing, as these cavaliers, long, lean men, of ‘a certain age, with mien suitable to the music, came pacing on:

¹[The protest had been drawn up as early as June 6th, and ought to have been published at once: it might have had a great effect on the Departmental risings (*see* Deux Amis, x. 337). The terms of it are printed by Mortimer-Ternaux (vii. 541), who mentions three other collective protests (of the Departments Seine, Aisne, and Haute Vienne), and a good number of individual ones.]

²[*Vid. sup.*, iii. 21. It is hardly fair to say that it was a violation of the terms of this agreement to send this garrison to La Vendée, for the allies had as yet taken no notice of La Vendée. The gallant soldiers of Kléber did not much relish their new task of civil war, as may be gathered from Carnot’s Corresp. (iii. 147), in which it appears that some of them cursed the Republic and all its works in no measured terms.]

‘singly you might have likened them to Don Quixote ; in mass, they were highly dignified.

‘But now a single troop became notable : that of the Commissioners or *Représentans*. Merlin of Thionville, in hussar uniform, distinguishing himself by wild beard and look, had another person in similar costume on his left ; the crowd shouted out, with rage, at sight of this latter, the name of a Jacobin Townsman and Clubbist ; and shook itself to seize him. Merlin drew bridle ; referred to his dignity as French Representative, to the vengeance that should follow any injury done ; he would advise every one to compose himself, for this was not the *last time* they would see him here.’¹ Thus rode Merlin ; threatening in defeat. But what now shall stem that tide of Prussians setting-in through the opened Northeast ? Lucky if fortified Lines of Weissebourg,² and impassabilities of Vosges Mountains confine it to French Alsace, keep it from submerging the very heart of the country !

Furthermore, precisely in the same days, Valenciennes³ Siege is finished, in the Northwest :—fallen, under the red hail of York ! Condé fell some fortnight since.⁴ Cimmerian Coalition presses on. What seems very notable too, on all these captured French Towns there flies not the Royalist fleur-de-lys, in the name of a new Louis the Pretender ; but the Austrian flag flies ; as if Austria meant to keep them for herself ! Perhaps General Custine,⁵ still in Paris, can give some explanation of the fall of these strong-places ? Mother-Society, from tribune and gallery, growls loud that he ought to do it ;—remarks, however, in a splenetic manner

¹ Belagerung von Mainz (Goethe’s Werke, xxx. 315).

² [It was Custine who, on quitting the Rhenish Electorates early in the year, established himself in the lines of Weissebourg, the best natural defence of Alsace ; they were not forced till October, long after Custine had been recalled (*vid. infr.*, iii. 155).]

³ [July 28th. Valenciennes, gallantly defended by Ferraud, was besieged from June 14th—July 28th by Coburg and the Duke of York. It is an important fortress commanding the upper waters of the Scheldt ; it was retaken by Scherer on Aug. 27th ’94 : Condé had been besieged since April, but more languidly : it was retaken Aug. 30th ’94 (*vid. infr.*, iii. 161).]

⁴ [July 12th.]

⁵ [Custine’s neglect of any attempt to relieve either Mainz or the two Northern fortresses is rather inexplicable ; he was decreed accused July 29th, and guillotined Aug. 28th (*vid. infr.*, iii. 96).]

that 'the *Monsieurs* of the Palais Royal' are calling Long-life to this General.

The Mother-Society, purged now, by successive 'scrutinies or *épurations*,' from all taint of Girondism, has become a great Authority: what we can call shield-bearer, or bottle-holder, nay call it fugleman, to the purged National Convention itself. The Jacobins Debates are reported in the *Moniteur*, like Parliamentary ones.

CHAPTER IV

O NATURE

BUT looking more especially into Paris City, what is this that History, on the 10th of August, Year One of Liberty, 'by old-style, year 1793,' discerns there? Praised be the Heavens, a new Feast of Pikes!

For Chaumette's 'Deputation every day' has worked out its result: a Constitution. It was one of the rapidest Constitutions ever put together; made, some say in eight days,¹ by Héroult Séchelles and others; probably a workmanlike, roadworthy Constitution enough;—on which point, however, we are, for some reasons, little called to form a judgment. Workmanlike or not, the Forty-four Thousand Communes of France, by overwhelming majorities, did hasten to accept it;² glad of any Constitution whatsoever. Nay Departmental Deputies have come, the venerablest Republicans of each Department, with solemn message of Acceptance; and now what remains but that our new Final Constitution be proclaimed, and sworn to, in Feast of Pikes? The Departmental Deputies, we say, are come some time ago;³

¹ [June 8th—24th.]

² [June 27th.]

³ [Aug. 6th. The new Constitutional Committee, created June 2nd, comprised Cambon, Barère, Guyton-Morveau, Treillard, Danton, Lacroix, Berlier, Delmas, Lindet, Héroult-Séchelles, Ramel, Couthon, Saint-Just, Mathieu. It reported on June 10th, and the Constitution was voted on 24th—27th *en bloc*. But the substance of it had been prepared in the Jacobin club long before (Duvergier de Hauranne, i. 273); it was certainly neither 'workmanlike' nor 'roadworthy' (although it contains the remarkable phrase that "where Government violates the Rights of the People, Insurrection becomes the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties"). It is difficult to believe that any one ever seriously contemplated putting it in force: by it each *Commune* is almost entirely independent of any central authority; it

Chaumette very anxious about them, lest Girondin *Monsieurs*, Agio-jobbers, or were it even *Filles de joie* of a Girondin temper, corrupt their morals.¹ Tenth of August, immortal Anniversary, greater almost than Bastille July, is the Day.

Painter David has not been idle. Thanks to David and the French genius, there steps forth into the sunlight, this day, a Scenic Phantasmagory unexampled:—whereof History, so occupied with Real Phantasmagories, will say but little.

For one thing, History can notice with satisfaction, on the ruins of the Bastille, a *Statue of Nature*; ² gigantic, spouting water from her two *mammelles*. Not a Dream this; but a fact, palpable visible. There she spouts, great Nature; dim, before daybreak. But as the coming Sun ruddies the East, come countless Multitudes, regulated and unregulated; come Departmental Deputies, come Mother-Society and Daughters; comes National Convention, led on by handsome Hérault; soft wind-music breathing note of expectation. Lo, as great Sol scatters his first fire-handful, tipping the hills and chimney-heads with gold, Hérault is at great Nature's feet (she is Plaster of Paris merely); Hérault lifts, in an iron saucer, water spouted from the sacred breasts; drinks of it, with an eloquent Pagan Prayer, beginning, "O Nature!" and all the Departmental Deputies drink, each with

remained however an ideal and a useful watchword for the extreme Robespierrists, although it was suspended almost as soon as issued (*vid. infr.*, iii. 88). It was worshipped in the distance, and there is a copy of it, said to be bound in human skin, in the *Musée Carnavalet*. A summary of it may be read in Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. (Bk. xlii.) in Dauban (Paris en 1793), p. 325, and it may be read at length in Hélie, Constitutions de la France (i. 376).

Meanwhile, though Danton's motion of Aug. 2nd, that the *Comité de Salut Public* be openly recognised as the Provisional Government, was lost, the second half of the motion, that 50 millions be paid at once to it 'for extraordinary expenses,' was carried. Into this 50 millions however every one dipped a hand, and the *Commune* began to get a million a week allotted for the purchase of food for Paris.]

¹Deux Amis, xi. 73. [Deux Amis in *loc. cit.* say nothing of 'Girondin temper,' but in David's preliminary announcement of the ritual of the *Fête* order is given that 'our brothers' are not to be 'lodged in the houses of aristocrats,' and Chaumette's order to the *Garde de Surveillance* at the barriers (both quoted in Dauban, Paris en 1793, p. 312 *sqq.*) warns the deputies against being corrupted by the 'filles de mauvaise vie.' The deputies from the Departments presented an address to the Convention on 8th.]

²[Called also the 'Fountain of Regeneration;,' beautifully got up inscriptions were found on the stones of the Bastille, indicating the sufferings of the prisoners of former days (Dauban, 318).]

what best suitable ejaculation or prophetic-utterance is in him ; —amid breathings, which become blasts, of wind-music ; and the roar of artillery and human throats ; finishing well the first act of this solemnity.¹

Next are processionings along the Boulevards : Deputies or Officials bound together by long indivisible tricolor riband ; general ‘members of the Sovereign’ walking pell-mell, with pikes, with hammers, with the tools and emblems of their crafts ; among which we notice a Plough, and ancient Baucis and Philemon seated on it, drawn by their children.² Many-voiced harmony and dissonance filling the air. Through Triumphal Arches enough : at the basis of the first of which, we descry—whom thinkest thou ?³—the Heroines of the Insurrection of Women. Strong Dames of the Market, they sit there (Théroigne too ill to attend, one fears), with oak-branches, tricolor bedizenment ; firm seated on their Cannons. To whom handsome Hérault, making pause of admiration, addresses soothing eloquence ; whereupon they rise and fall into the march.

And now mark, in the Place de la Révolution, what other august Statue may this be ; veiled in canvass,—which swiftly we shear off by pulley and cord ? The *Statue of Liberty* ! She too is of plaster, hoping to become of metal ; stands where a Tyrant Louis Quinze once stood. ‘Three thousand birds’ are let loose, into the whole word, with labels round their neck, *We are free ; imitate us*. Holocaust of Royalist and *ci-devant* trumpery, such as one could still gather, is burnt ; pontifical eloquence must be uttered, by handsome Hérault, and Pagan orisons offered up.

And then forward across the River ; where is new enormous Statuary ; enormous plaster Mountain ; Hercules-*Peuple*, with uplifted all-conquering club ; ‘many-headed Dragon of Girondin Federalism rising from fetid march :’—needing new eloquence

¹[David had intended the *Marseillaise* to be chanted here : but it was not (Dauban, 319).]

²[And a printing press, ‘this formidable *Ægis* against tyrants,’ with the inscription “without this no liberty” (i.e., presumably without *Père Duchesne* and *L’Ami du Peuple*) (*ibid.* 320).]

³[On the Boulevard Poissonnière : Hérault made no less than six speeches that day (Mortimer-Ternaux, viii. 357).]

from Hérault.¹ To say nothing of Champ-de-Mars,² and Fatherland's Altar there; with urn of slain Defenders, Carpenter's-level of the Law; and such exploding, gesticulating and perorating, that Hérault's lips must be growing white, and his tongue cleaving to the roof of his mouth.³

Towards six o'clock let the wearied President, let Paris Patriotism generally sit down to what repast, and social repasts, can be had; and with flowing tankard or light-mantling glass, usher in this New and Newest Era. In fact, is not Romme's New Calendar getting ready? On all housetops flicker little tricolor Flags, their flagstaff a Pike and Liberty-Cap. On all house-walls, for no Patriot, not suspect, will be behind another, there stand printed these words: *Republic one and indivisible, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death.*⁴

As to the New Calendar, we may say here rather than elsewhere that speculative men have long been struck with the inequalities and incongruities of the Old Calendar; that a New one has long been as good as determined on. Maréchal the Atheist, almost ten years ago, proposed a New Calendar, free at least from superstition: this the Paris Municipality would now adopt, in defect of a better; at all events, let us have either this of Maréchal's or a better,—the New Era being come.⁵ Petitions, more than once, have been sent to that effect; and indeed, for a year past, all

¹[On the Place des Invalides: the Statue of the People bore the inscription, *L'Aristocratie a pris cent formes diverses; le Peuple tout puissant l'a partout terrassée.*]

²[The object of going to the *Autel de la Patrie* was to deposit there the registers of acceptances of the new Constitution by the primary Assemblies of France (*ibid.* 323).]

³Choix des Rapports, xii. 432-42.

⁴[When the Constitution was accepted by France, the Convention ought of course to have at once dissolved itself: a roundabout motion to that effect was made by Lacroix on Aug. 11th; but the Mountain had no difficulty in shelving it, and the real answer to it was the decree of the *Levée en masse* on 23rd.]

⁵[The *Almanach des honnêtes gens* of Pierre Sylvain Maréchal (1788) was not exactly a new calendar, but a suggestion for making one, and replacing the names of the Saints' days, etc., with the names of persons celebrated in History: it was sufficiently blasphemous to secure his imprisonment. He was born 1750 and died 1803; his best known work is the 'Dictionnaire des Athées,' but he contributed to Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*, and was the author of the ludicrous farce (?) called 'Le Dernier Jugement des Rois,' printed in Moland, *Théâtre de la Rév.*]

Public Bodies, Journalists, and Patriots in general, have dated *First Year of the Republic*. It is a subject not without difficulties. But the Convention has taken it up; and Romme, as we say, has been meditating it; not Maréchal's New Calendar, but a better New one of Romme's and our own. Romme, aided by a Monge, a Lagrange and others, furnishes mathematics; Fabre d'Églantine furnishes poetic nomenclature: and so, on the 5th of October 1793, after trouble enough, they bring forth this New Republican Calendar of theirs, in a complete state; and by Law, get it put in action.

Four equal Seasons, Twelve equal Months of Thirty days each; this makes three hundred and sixty days; and five odd days remain to be disposed of. The five odd days we will make Festivals, and name the five *Sansculottides*, or Days without Breeches. Festival of Genius; Festival of Labour; of Actions; of Rewards; of Opinion: these are the five *Sansculottides*. Whereby the great Circle, or Year, is made complete: solely every fourth year, whilom called Leap-year, we introduce a sixth *Sansculottide*: and name it Festival of the Revolution. Now as to the day of commencement, which offers difficulties, is it not one of the luckiest coincidences that the Republic herself commenced on the 21st of September; close on the Vernal Equinox? Vernal Equinox, at midnight for the meridian of Paris, in the year whilom Christian 1792, from that moment shall the New Era reckon itself to begin. *Vendémiaire*, *Brumaire*, *Frimaire*; or as one might say, in mixed English, *Vintagearious*, *Fogarious*, *Frostarious*: these are our three Autumn months. *Nivose*, *Pluviose*, *Ventose*, or say, *Snowous*, *Rainous*, *Windous*, make our Winter season. *Germinal*, *Floréal*, *Prairial*, or *Buddal*, *Floweral*, *Meadowal*, are our Spring season. *Messidor*, *Thermidor*, *Fructidor*, that is to say (*dor* being Greek for *gift*) *Reapidor*, *Heatidor*, *Fruitidor*, are Republican Summer. These Twelve, in a singular manner, divide the Republican Year. Then as to minuter subdivisions, let us venture at once on a bold stroke: adopt your decimal subdivision; and instead of the world-old Week, or *Se'enight*, make it a *Tennight*, or *Décade*;—not without results. There are three *Decades*, then, in each of the months; which is very

regular ; and the *Décadi*, or Tenth-day, shall always be the ‘ Day of Rest.’ And the Christian Sabbath, in that case ? Shall shift for itself !

This, in brief, is the New Calendar of Romme and the Convention ; calculated for the meridian of Paris, and Gospel of Jean Jacques : not one of the least afflicting occurrences for the actual British reader of French History ;—confusing the soul with *Messidors*, *Meadowals* ; till at last, in self-defence, one is forced to construct some ground-scheme, or rule of Commutation from New-style to Old-style, and have it lying by him. Such ground-scheme, almost worn out in our service, but still legible and printable, we shall now, in a Note, present to the reader. For the Romme Calendar, in so many Newspapers, Memoirs, Public Acts, has stamped itself deep into that section of Time : a New Era that lasts some Twelve years and odd is not to be despised.¹ Let the Reader, therefore, with such ground-scheme, help himself where needful, out of New-style into Old-style, called also ‘ slave-style, *stile-esclave* ; ’—whereof we, in these pages, shall as much as possible use the latter only.²

¹September 22d of 1792 is Vendémiaire 1st of Year One, and the new months are all of 30 days each ; therefore :

To the number of the day in	ADD	We have the number of the day in	DAYS
Vendémiaire	21	September	30
Brumaire	21	October	31
Frimaire	20	November	30
Nivose	20	December	31
Pluviose	19	January	31
Ventose	18	February	28
Germinal	20	March	31
Floréal	19	April	30
Prairial	19	May	31
Messidor	18	June	30
Thermidor	18	July	31
Fructidor	17	August	31

There are 5 Sansculottides, and in leap-year a sixth, to be added at the end of Fructidor.

The New Calendar ceased on the 1st of January 1806. See *Choix des Rapports*, xiii. 83-99 ; xix. 199.

²[The names first proposed in this calendar of Romme’s were simply numeral for months as well as for the days, but from the latter part of Oct. the ‘ nature names’

Thus with new Feast of Pikes, and New Era or New Calendar, did France accept her New Constitution: the most Democratic Constitution ever committed to paper. How it will work in practice? Patriot Deputations, from time to time, solicit fruition of it; that it be set a-going. Always, however, this seems questionable; for the moment, unsuitable. Till, in some weeks, *Salut Public*, through the organ of Saint-Just, makes report,¹ that, in the present alarming circumstances, the state of France is Revolutionary; that her 'Government must be Revolutionary till the Peace!' Solely as Paper, then, and as a Hope, must this poor new Constitution exist;²—in which shape we may conceive it lying, even now, with an infinity of other things, in that Limbo near the Moon. Further than paper it never got, nor ever will get.

CHAPTER V

SWORD OF SHARPNESS

IN fact it is something quite other than paper theorems, it is iron and audacity that France now needs.

Is not La Vendée still blazing;—alas too literally; rogue Rosignol burning the very corn-mills? General Santerre could do nothing there; General Rossignol, in blind fury, often in liquor, can do less than nothing. Rebellion spreads, grows ever madder. Happily those lean Quixote-figures, whom we saw retreating out

begin to be used. The *Comité de Salut Public* begins to date its acts in the new style from Oct. 6th, but the usage is irregular and intermittent at first. (See Aulard, *Recueil*, vii. 245.) The *Décadi* is to be spent in each *Commune* of France in a patriotic service of hymns before the *Autel de la Patrie*, the reading of a report on the State of the Republic, in martial exercises and public dances (*ibid.* viii. 312); the keeping of Sunday is not prohibited anywhere that I can find, but it is of course discouraged, and no Sundays, holidays or religious observances are allowed for men engaged in making arms or munitions of war (*ibid.* viii. 292). As late as Dec. 6th liberty of worship is enjoined by the Convention, and several representatives are scolded for forcibly shutting churches; probably nothing provoked more sullen resistance to the proconsuls than the attempt to establish the *décadi* (*ibid.* xi. 356). The Calendar is not at all an unreasonable one, as Sept. 22nd is the first day of Autumn, and is the ancient Egyptian and Babylonian New Year's Day.]

¹[Oct. 10th.]

²[This suspension of the 'Constitution of the year I,' before it had been put in force, was further made clear by a formal decree on Dec. 4th, putting the Ministers under direct control of the Committee.]

of Mentz, 'bound not to serve against the Coalition for a year,' have got to Paris. National Convention packs them into post-vehicles and conveyances; sends them swiftly, by post, into La Vendée. There valiantly struggling, in obscure battle and skirmish, under rogue Rossignol, let them, unlaureled, save the Republic, and 'be cut down gradually to the last man.'¹

Does not the Coalition, like a fire-tide, pour in; Prussia through the opened Northeast;² Austria, England through the Northwest? General Houchard³ prospers no better there than General Custine did: let him look to it! Through the Eastern and the Western Pyrenees Spain has deployed itself; spreads, rustling with Bourbon banners, over the face of the South. Ashes and embers of confused Girondin civil war covered that region already. Marseilles is damped down, not quenched; to be quenched in blood. Toulon, terrorstruck, too far gone for turning, has flung itself, ye righteous Powers,—into the hands of the English! On Toulon Arsenal there flies a flag,⁴—nay not even the Fleur-de-lys of a Louis Pretender; there flies that accursed St. George's Cross of the English and Admiral Hood! What remnant of sea-craft, arsenals, roperies, war-navy France had, has given itself to these enemies of human nature, '*ennemis du genre humain.*' Beleaguer it, bombard it, ye Commissioners Barras, Fréron, Robespierre Junior; thou General Cartaux, General Dugommier; above all, thou remarkable Artillery-Major, Napoleon Buonaparte! Hood is fortifying himself, victualling himself; means, apparently, to make a new Gibraltar of it.⁵

¹ Deux Amis, xi. 147; xiii. 160-92, &c.

² [*Sic*; presumably for *East* and *North-East* respectively.]

³ [Houchard, born 1740, had served in the old army (in the Seven Years' War and in Corsica), became Colonel in Custine's army and succeeded to the command successively of the Armies of the Rhine, Moselle, and North (*vid. infr.*, iii. 121).]

⁴ [Aug. 28th.]

⁵ [The immediate cause of the insurrection of Toulon (July 26th) is attributed by Barras and Fréron to the demand of the dockyard workmen to be paid in cash instead of in *Assignats* (see Aulard, Recueil, v. 382). The Sections of Toulon demanded in August that the Comte de Provence should come and take the Regency there in the name of Louis XVII. He did in fact start from Hamm in Westphalia, where he then was, and travelled slowly towards Turin; but the English ministry, in spite of the representations of Gilbert Eliot, preferred to recognise no authority but that of Louis XVII., and professed to hold Toulon for the King of France

But lo, in the Autumn night, late night, among the last of August,¹ what sudden red sunblaze is this that has risen over Lyons City; with a noise to deafen the world? ² It is the Powder-tower of Lyons, nay the Arsenal with four Powder-towers, which has caught fire in the Bombardment; and sprung into the air, carrying 'a hundred and seventeen houses' after it. With a light, one fancies, as of the noon sun; with a roar second only to the Last Trumpet! All living sleepers far and wide it has awakened. What a sight was that, which the eye of History saw, in the sudden nocturnal sunblaze! The roofs of hapless Lyons, and all its domes and steeples made momentarily clear; Rhône and Saône streams flashing suddenly visible; and height and hollow, hamlet and smooth stubblefield, and all the region round;—heights, alas, all scarped and counterscarped, into trenches, curtains, redoubts; blue Artillery-men, little Powder-devilkins, plying their hell-trade, there through the *not ambrosial* night! Let the darkness cover it again; for it pains the eye. Of a truth, Chalier's death is costing the City dear. Convention Commissioners, Lyons Congresses have come and gone; and action there was and reaction; bad ever growing worse; till it has come to this; Commissioner Dubois-Crancé, 'with seventy-thousand men, and all the Artillery of several Provinces,' bombarding Lyons day and night.

Worse things still are in store. Famine is in Lyons, and ruin and fire. Desperate are the sallies of the besieged; brave Précý,³

'until the peace:' the flag hoisted *was* the white flag of Louis XVII. and that only: the Austrians promised to send 6,000 troops from Italy, but did not send them. (*See Rév. Fr. xxxiii. 39, sqq.; vid. infr., iii. 130.*)

¹[Aug. 24th.]

²[Mortimer-Ternaux (viii. 230) says the Lyons Arsenal was fired by Jacobins inside the town: the siege began on 8th under Kellermann; but he had not enough troops to invest so large a city, and on 22nd Dubois-Crancé, the Convention Commissioner, resorted to bombardment; Kellermann was called off to face the Piedmontese, who were invading Savoy; the bombardment lasted for 45 days and some quarters of the town were reduced to ruins; famine began to be serious about Sept. 17th, more troops were brought by Couthon, Maignet, and Châteauneuf-Randon, and at last there were 50,000 men round the city; by the end of September the outworks were stormed (*vid. infr., iii. 125.*)]

³[The Comte de Précý, born 1742, served in the Seven Years' War and in Corsica, Lieut.-Colonel 1788, served in the defence of the Tuileries Aug. 10th, undertook the defence of Lyons in the Royalist interest, but opinions were too much divided inside the town to allow much weight to this (*vid. infr., iii. 125.*)]

their National Colonel and Commandant, doing what is in man: desperate but ineffectual. Provisions cut off; nothing entering our city but shot and shells! The Arsenal has roared aloft; the very Hospital will be battered down, and the sick buried alive. A black flag hung on this latter noble Edifice, appealing to the pity of the besiegers; for though maddened, were they not still our brethren? In their blind wrath, they took it for a flag of defiance, and aimed thitherward the more. Bad is growing ever worse here: and how will the worse stop, till it have grown worst of all? Commissioner Dubois will listen to no pleading, to no speech, save this only, We surrender at discretion. Lyons contains in it subdued Jacobins; dominant Girondins; secret Royalists. And now, mere deaf madness and cannon-shot enveloping them, will not the desperate Municipality fly, at last, into the arms of Royalism itself? Majesty of Sardinia was to bring help, but it failed. Emigrant d'Autichamp, in name of the Two Pretender Royal Highnesses, is coming through Switzerland with help; coming, not yet come: Précý hoists the Fleur-de-lys!

At sight of which, all true Girondins sorrowfully fling down their arms:—Let our Tricolor brethren storm us, then, and slay us in their wrath; with *you* we conquer not. The famishing women and children are sent forth: deaf Dubois sends them back;—rains in mere fire and madness. Our 'redoubts of cotton-bags' are taken, retaken; Précý under his Fleur-de-lys is valiant as Despair. What will become of Lyons? It is a siege of seventy days.¹

Or see, in these same weeks, far in the Western waters: breasting through the Bay of Biscay, a greasy dingy little

¹ Deux Amis, xi. 80-143. [(*Vid. infr.*, iii. 125.) This story of the white flag Dubois-Crancé skilfully and industriously circulated; and one day, before the investment was complete, some countrymen, thinking to please the *Lyonnais*, arrived at the gates with white cockades, but were at once arrested. There is in fact no evidence that Précý ever raised the white flag at all—no doubt he would have liked to do so, but it would have been a hopeless move. (See Balleydier, *Hist. du peuple de Lyon pendant la Rév.* (Paris, 1845), i. 362.) The phrase "we conquer not with you" probably refers to the cowardly flight of the two Girondin deputies, Biroteau and Chasset, immediately on the arrival of the Republican forces; Biroteau was arrested as he left Lyons, and sent to the guillotine at Bordeaux (Oct. 24th); Chasset escaped to Switzerland.]

Merchant-ship, with Scotch skipper ; under hatches whereof sit, disconsolate,—the last forlorn nucleus of Girondism, the Deputies from Quimper ! Several have dissipated themselves, whithersoever they could. Poor Riouffe fell into the talons of Revolutionary Committee and Paris Prison. The rest sit here under hatches ; reverend Petion with his gray hair, angry Buzot, suspicious Louvet, brave young Barbaroux, and others. They have escaped from Quimper, in this sad craft ; are now tacking and struggling : in danger from the waves, in danger from the English, in still worse danger from the French ;—banished by Heaven and Earth to the greasy belly of this Scotch skipper's Merchant-vessel, unfruitful Atlantic raving round. They are for Bourdeaux, if peradventure hope yet linger there. Enter not Bourdeaux, O Friends ! Bloody Convention Representatives, Tallien and such like, with their Edicts, with their Guillotine, have arrived there ; Respectability is driven under ground ; Jacobinism lords it on high. From that Réole landing-place, or *Beak of Ambès*, as it were, pale Death, waving his Revolutionary Sword of Sharpness, waves you elsewhither !

On one side or the other of that *Bec d'Ambès*, the Scotch Skipper with difficulty moors, a dexterous greasy man ; with difficulty lands his Girondins ;—who, after reconnoitring, must rapidly burrow in the Earth ; and so, in subterranean ways, in friends' back-closets, in cellars, barn-lofts, in Caves of Saint-Émilion and Libourne, stave off cruel Death.¹ Unhappiest of all Senators !

CHAPTER VI

RISEN AGAINST TYRANTS

AGAINST all which incalculable impediments, horrors and disasters, what can a Jacobin Convention oppose ? The uncalculating Spirit of Jacobinism, and Sansculottic sans-formulistic Frenzy ! Our Enemies press-in on us, says Danton, but they shall not conquer us, “we will burn France to ashes rather, *nous brûlerons la France.*”

¹ Louvet, pp. 180-199.

Committees, of *Sûreté*, of *Salut*, have raised themselves, 'à la hauteur, to the height of circumstances.' Let all mortals raise themselves à la hauteur. Let the Forty-four thousand Sections and their Revolutionary Committees stir every fibre of the Republic; and every Frenchman feel that he is to do or die. They are the life-circulation of Jacobinism, these Sections and Committees: Danton, through the organ of Barrère and *Salut Public*, gets decreed, That there be in Paris, by law, two meetings of Section weekly;¹ also, that the Poorer Citizen be *paid* for attending, and have his day's-wages of Forty Sous.² This is the celebrated 'Law of the Forty Sous;' fiercely stimulant to Sans-culottism, to the life-circulation of Jacobinism.

On the twenty-third of August, Committee of Public Salvation, as usual through Barrère, had promulgated, in words not unworthy of remembering, their Report, which is soon made into a Law, of *Levy in Mass*.³ 'All France, and whatsoever it contains of men or resources, is put under requisition,' says Barrère; really in Tyrtæan words, the best we know of his. 'The Republic is one vast besieged city.' Two-hundred and fifty Forges shall, in these days, be set up in the Luxembourg Garden, and round the outer wall of the Tuileries; to make gun-barrels; in sight of Earth and Heaven! From all hamlets, towards their Departmental Town; from all Departmental Towns, towards the appointed Camp and seat of war, the Sons of Freedom shall march; their banner is to bear: '*Le Peuple Français debout contre les Tyrans*, The French 'People risen against Tyrants. The young men shall go to the 'battle;⁴ it is their task to conquer: the married men shall forge

¹[Sept. 5th.]

²Moniteur, Séance du 5 Septembre 1793. [For Danton's speech on the *Forty Sous* see Stephens' Orators (ii. 262). The same speech supported the motion of Billaud for the creation of a Revolutionary Army (*vid. infr.*, iii. 95). The law of the *forty sous* was repealed Aug. 22nd '94: complaint was made that even workmen earning three *francs* a day had taken advantage of the law. (See Schmidt, ii. 192.) Danton left Paris Oct. 12th and was away till Nov. 21st.]

³[Aug. 16th and 23rd.]

⁴[The *Levée en masse* (*vid. supr.*, ii. 234, and iii. 24) must be distinguished from the later Conscription which was decreed by the Council of Ancients on the motion of Jourdan in 1798. In spite of Danton's appeal in Sept. '92, the total number of men with the colours at the beginning of '93 was only 228,000: on Feb. 24th a new levy of 300,000 was decreed, but the Convention allowed the men requisitioned

‘arms, transport baggage and artillery ; provide subsistence : the women shall work at soldiers’ clothes, make tents ; serve in the hospitals : the children shall scrape old-linen into surgeon’s-lint : the aged men shall have themselves carried into public places ; and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young ; preach hatred to Kings and unity to the Republic.’¹ Tyrtæan words ; which tingle through all French hearts.

In this humour, then, since no other serves, will France rush against its enemies. Headlong, reckoning no cost or consequence ; heeding no law or rule but that supreme law, Salvation of the People ! The weapons are, all the iron that is in France ; the strength is, that of all the men, women and children that are in France. There, in their two-hundred and fifty shed-smithies, in Garden of Luxembourg or Tuileries, let them forge gun-barrels, in sight of Heaven and Earth.

Nor with heroic daring against the Foreign foe, can black vengeance against the Domestic be wanting. Life-circulation of the Revolutionary Committees being quickened by that *Law of the Forty Sous*, Deputy Merlin, not the Thionviller, whom we saw ride out of Mentz, but Merlin² of Douai, named subsequently Merlin *Suspect*,—comes, about a week after, with his world-famous *Law of the Suspect* : ordering all Sections, by their Committees, instantly to arrest all Persons Suspect ; and explaining withal who the Arrestable and Suspect specially are. ‘Are suspect,’ says he, ‘all who by their actions, by their connexions,

to find substitutes—and with the worst results. The present movement came from the deputies of the provincial *Communes*, who had come to Paris for the *fête* of Aug. 10th : they demanded an universal levy, and presented a petition to that effect to the Convention, which adopted the principle on Aug. 16th. Carnot then worked out the details. (See Gros, ‘Comité de Salut Public,’ p. 226.) All between 18 and 25 were to be called out except those in the Civil Service of the State : this levy got the name of the *first requisition* and produced 450,000 men, and the total figures with the colours at the end of 1793 were 569,000. (Sorel, iii. 538.)

¹ Débats, Séance du 23 Août 1793.

²[Philippe Antoine Merlin was a celebrated jurist, born 1754, deputy for Douai to States-General and for the Department of Nord to the Convention ; was one of the leading law reformers in the former Assembly ; a fierce *Montagnard* in '93—4, rallied to the Thermidorians, became Minister of Justice in '95, a Director after the *Coup d'État* of Fructidor, and one of the principal authors of the Code ; a Count of the Empire, exiled at the Restoration, returned 1830, died 1838.]

'speakings, writings have'—in short become Suspect.¹ Nay Chaumette, illuminating the matter still further,² in his Municipal Placards and Proclamations, will bring it about that you may almost recognise a Suspect on the streets, and clutch him there, —off to Committee, and Prison. Watch well your words, watch well your looks: if Suspect of nothing else, you may grow, as came to be a saying, 'Suspect of being Suspect!' For are we not in a State of Revolution?

No frightfuller Law ever ruled in a Nation of men. All Prisons and Houses of Arrest in French land are getting crowded to the ridge-tile: Forty-four thousand Committees, like as many companies of reapers or gleaners, gleaning France, are gathering their harvest, and storing it in these Houses. Harvest of Aristocrat tares! Nay lest the Forty-four thousand, each on its own harvest-field, prove insufficient, we are to have an ambulant 'Revolutionary Army':³ six-thousand strong, under right captains, this shall perambulate the country at large, and strike in wherever it finds such harvest-work slack. So have Municipality and Mother-Society petitioned; so has Convention decreed.⁴ Let Aristocrats, Federalists, Monsieurs vanish, and all men tremble: 'the soil of Liberty shall be purged,'—with a vengeance!⁵

Neither hitherto has the Revolutionary Tribunal been keeping holyday. Blanchelande,⁶ for losing Saint-Domingo; 'Conspira-

¹ Moniteur, Séance du 17 Septembre 1793. [The 'Law of the Suspect' had its origin in a petition of the *Commune* that a list of suspected persons might be drawn up (Sept. 12th); Merlin's 'Law' defined, vaguely it is true but very widely, the twelve classes into which 'suspects' fell; the law was not repealed until the end of the Convention: practically it put all power in the hands of the Revolutionary Committees of Sections, who were authorised to draw up the lists of the suspects, and send them to the *Comité de Sûreté Générale*.]

²[Sept. 17th.] ³[Sept. 5th.]

⁴ *Ibid.*, Séances du 5, 9, 11 Septembre.

⁵[The Revolutionary Army was to be at the requisition of the Municipal authorities of any *Commune* of France. It was often accompanied by a portable guillotine, and was entirely dominated by the Hébertists: it was chiefly instrumental in smashing church furniture during the autumn and winter of '93-4; it was disbanded on the fall of the Hébertists, in March '94; Ronsin was its general. (*Vid. infr.*, iii. 122; see Wallon, *La Terreur*, i. 282, *sqq.*)]

⁶[Blanchelande had been successively governor of Tobago and Dominica, and in 1789 was Lieut.-Governor of San Domingo; Campardon gives the date of his execution as April 15th '93. When the rising of the negroes finally threatened the French planters with destruction, they applied for assistance to Lord Effingham, the

tors of Orléans,' for 'assassinating,' for assaulting the sacred Deputy Léonard Bourdon :¹ these with many Nameless, to whom life was sweet, have died. Daily the great Guillotine has its due. Like a black Spectre, daily at eventide, glides the Death-tumbril through the variegated throng of things. The variegated street shudders at it, for the moment ; next moment forgets it : The Aristocrats ! They were guilty against the Republic ; their death, were it only that their goods are confiscated, will be useful to the Republic ; *Vive la République !*

In the last days of August fell a notabler head :² General Custine's. Custine was accused of harshness, of unskilfulness, perfidiousness ; accused of many things : found guilty, we may say, of one thing, unsuccessfulness. Hearing his unexpected Sentence, 'Custine fell down before the Crucifix,' silent for the space of two hours : he fared, with moist eyes and a look of prayer, towards the Place de la Révolution ; glanced upwards at the clear suspended axe ; then mounted swiftly aloft,³ swiftly was struck away from

governor of Jamaica, and he sent three frigates, which saved a great number of people : the English occupied many parts of the island, but did not take possession of Port-au-Prince till June 1st '94 (Lecky, v. 567). Mahan (i. 112) criticises the policy of the British Government in occupying and garrisoning the wrong ports ; it was vain for them to hope to hold the whole island. In 1798 they finally abandoned the island to Toussaint l'Ouverture the negro.]

¹[July 13th. Léonard Bourdon, a schoolmaster and barrister, born 1758, deputy to Convention for the Loiret, a leading *Montagnard*, was passing through Orléans on a mission to the Jura on March 15th '93, and was slightly wounded in a street row, which one of his companions provoked, on his way home from the Jacobin Club in that city. He made immense capital out of this, representing himself as a second Lepelletier. The Convention, on Barère's motion, voted a fierce decree against the city of Orléans : thirteen of its citizens were sent to the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* at Paris for the "assassination," and nine of them were condemned to death, four being acquitted. (Campardon, i. 56.) If the story from Prudhomme, quoted by Campardon, be true, Léonard Bourdon must have been disappointed at the smallness of the vengeance, as he told the surgeon who dressed his wound that he would have twenty-five heads for it ; he was humourously known as *Léopard* Bourdon after this bloodshed. He assisted Barras on the night of 9th Thermidor, became a leading Thermidorian, and a member of the Council of 500, disappeared from politics under the Consulate and died 1815.]

²[Aug. 28th. Custine's trial lasted thirteen days, and created great excitement. His confessor, the Abbé Lothringer, was afterwards examined at length to try and extort from him some of the secrets of the confession ; Custine's guilt is not improbable, for he had undoubtedly entered into secret negotiations with Prussia on his own account, but the accusation that he wished to make Brunswick King of France appears to rest on no ground of fact : rather, like Dumouriez, he probably clung to the idea of separating Prussia from the cause of the Allies. (See Campardon, i. 88, *sqq.*)]

³Deux Amis, xi. 148-188.

the lists of the Living. He had fought in America; he was a proud, brave man; and his fortune led him *hither*.

On the 2d of this same month, at three in the morning, a vehicle rolled off, with closed blinds, from the Temple to the Conciergerie.¹ Within it were two Municipals; and Marie-Antoinette, once Queen of France! There in that Conciergerie, in ignominious dreary cell, she, secluded from children, kindred, friends and hope, sits long weeks; expecting when the end will be.²

The Guillotine, we find, gets always a quicker motion, as other things are quickening. The Guillotine, by its speed of going, will give index of the general velocity of the Republic. The clanking of its huge axe, rising and falling there, in horrid systole-diastrale, is portion of the whole enormous Life-movement and pulsation of the Sansculottic System!—‘Orléans Conspirators’ and Assaulters had to die, in spite of much weeping and entreating; so sacred is the person of a Deputy. Yet the sacred can become desecrated: your very Deputy is not greater than the Guillotine. Poor Deputy Journalist Gorsas: we saw him hide at Rennes, when the Calvados War burnt priming. He stole, afterwards, in August, to Paris; lurked several weeks about the Palais *ci-devant* Royal; was seen there, one day; was clutched, identified, and without ceremony, being already ‘out of the Law,’ was sent to the Place de la Révolution. He died, recommending his wife and children to the pity of the Republic. It is the ninth day of October 1793. Gorsas is the first Deputy that dies on the scaffold; he will not be the last.

Ex-Mayor Bailly is in Prison; Ex-Procureur Manuel. Brissot

¹[The *Conciergerie* dates from the 13th century, and, as its name indicates, was the ‘Servants’ Hall’ of the old Royal Palace. Its first storey was in 1793 a row of shops for the sale of *articles de Paris*; the cells were mostly underground, and, though much improved in Louis XVI.’s reign, were damp and unwholesome. Richard, the gaoler, and his wife were humane persons, and the latter, if tradition may be trusted, was specially kind to the Queen. The Queen’s cell is still to be seen: it was on the ground floor, and its window gave on to the ‘Courtyard of the Women,’ but owing to its proximity to the river it was very damp. Louis XVIII. placed in it an altar and a Latin inscription (not, one is afraid, the first *elegantia* he had written about his sister-in-law). (Dauban, *Les Prisons*, p. 136 *sqq.*)]

²See *Mémoires Particuliers de la Captivité à la Tour du Temple* (by the Duchesse d’Angoulême, Paris, 21 janvier 1817).

and our poor Arrested Girondins have become Incarcerated Indicted Girondins; universal Jacobinism clamouring for their punishment. Duperret's Seals are *broken*! Those Seventy-three Secret Protesters, suddenly one day, are reported upon, are decreed accused; the Convention-doors being 'previously shut,' that none implicated might escape. They were marched, in a very rough manner, to Prison that evening.¹ Happy those of them who chanced to be absent! Condoreet has vanished into darkness; perhaps, like Rabaut, sits between two walls, in the house of a friend.

CHAPTER VII

MARIE-ANTOINETTE

ON Monday the Fourteenth of October 1793,² a Cause is pending in the Palais de Justice, in the new Revolutionary Court, such as these old stone-walls never witnessed: the Trial of Marie-Antoinette. The once brightest of Queens, now tarnished, defaced, forsaken, stands here at Fouquier-Tinville's Judgment-bar; answering for her life. The Indictment was delivered her last night.³ To such changes of human fortune what words are adequate? Silence alone is adequate.

There are few Printed things one meets with, of such tragic,

¹[Oct. 3rd.]

²[It was on Aug. 1st that the trial of Marie Antoinette was decreed, on the motion of Barère, *Il faut frapper l'Autriche et l'Autrichienne*; on the same day the Convention decreed the violation of the Royal tombs at Saint-Denis and the deportation of all living Bourbons except the children of Louis XVI. Nothing whatever was done by Austria in favour of the Queen of France even by way of protest. Mercy, Fersen and La Marck, her truest friends, implored the Governments of the Allies in vain: up till the end of June they had placed some confidence in Danton, who had showed some disposition to make the deliverance of the Queen a possible overture for peace. (See Fersen's Journal et Corresp. ii., May—Aug. '93; *vid. infr.*, iii. 190).]

The Queen was interrogated on Sept. 4th by Amar and some others in the *Conciergerie*. The interrogations of the children in the Temple by Hébert, Pache, Chaumette and Simon (*vid. infr.*, iii. 190) took place on Oct. 6th. On Oct. 10th Fouquier wrote to Committee that all the documents were ready; and on 12th the Queen was again interrogated by Herman. The Counsel assigned to her were Tronson-Ducoudray and Chauveau-Lagarde; after their first conversation with her these men were arrested and examined as to what she had 'confessed.' They practically said she had given them no confidence, and were at once liberated. (Campardon, i. 106, *sqq.*)]

³Procès de la Reine (Deux Amis, xi. 251-381).

almost ghastly, significance as those bald Pages of the *Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, which bear title, *Trial of the Widow Capet*. Dim, dim, as if in disastrous eclipse; like the pale kingdoms of Dis! Plutonic Judges, Plutonic Tinville; encircled, nine times, with Styx and Lethe, with Fire-Phlegethon and Cocytus named of Lamentation! The very witnesses summoned are like Ghosts; exculpatory, inculpatory, they themselves are all hovering over death and doom; they are known, in our imagination, as the prey of the Guillotine. Tall *ci-devant* Count d'Estaing,¹ anxious to show himself Patriot, cannot escape; nor Bailly, who, when asked If he knows the Accused, answers with a reverent inclination towards her, "Ah, yes, I know Madame." Ex-Patriots are here, sharply dealt with, as Procureur Manuel; Ex-ministers, shorn of their splendour. We have cold Aristocratic impassivity, faithful to itself even in Tartarus; rabid stupidity, of Patriot Corporals, Patriot Washerwomen, who have much to say of Plots, Treasons, August Tenth, old Insurrection of Women. For all now has become a crime, in her who has *lost*.²

¹[The Comte d'Estaing, born 1729, served first in the Army and then in the Navy, fought in the Seven Years' War and the War of American independence; became Admiral in 1792; as Commander of the National Guard of Versailles, he had tried to protect the Royal Family on Oct. 5th '89; guillotined, April 28th '94.]

²[Fouquier's indictment began with a comparison between the Queen and all the wicked Queens of History, and the technical charges brought were:—

- (1) Plundering the French exchequer for the benefit of Austria before 1789.
- (2) Producing famine.
- (3) Designing a *Coup d'État* on Oct. 4th '89.
- (4) Instigating the Flight to Varennes.
- (5) Instigating the 'massacre' of the *Champ-de-Mars*, the meetings of the "Austrian Committee," the Vetos, the declaration of War.
- (6) Betraying the French plan of campaign to the Allies.
- (7) The "conspiracy" of Aug. 10th against the Nation.
- (8) Incestuous intercourse with her son.

The witnesses called were Lecointre to the affair of Oct. 4th '89; La Pierre (an adjutant general) to the events of June 20th '91; Roussillon to the events of Aug. 10th; Hébert to the deposition in the matter of incest; Terrasson to the fact that the Queen on June 26th looked fiercely at the National Guard (whence resulted the 'massacre' of July 17th); Manuel to certain pretended intrigues in the Temple (but he gave no evidence and was reprimanded); Millot, a female servant, to the sending of money to Austria (she deposed also that the Queen tried to assassinate d'Orléans); Simon to her attempts to corrupt the warders in the Temple; Tissot (a police spy, and author of the 'Eloge de La Sainte Dame Guillotine') to her attempts to defraud the Civil List for the benefit of the *Émigrés*; D'Estaing deposed to nothing but that the Queen had prevented him from being created a Marshal; Bailly seems only to have been called to give a handle against himself, he deposed to nothing; there were several more witnesses of no importance (as to the Queen's influence

Marie-Antoinette, in this her utter abandonment, and hour of extreme need, is not wanting to herself, the imperial woman. Her look, they say, as that hideous Indictment was reading, continued calm; 'she was sometimes observed moving her fingers, as when one plays on the Piano.' You discern, not without interest, across that dim Revolutionary Bulletin itself, how she bears herself queenlike. Her answers are prompt, clear, often of Laconic brevity; resolution, which has grown contemptuous without ceasing to be dignified, veils itself in calm words. "You persist then in denial?"—"My plan is not denial: it is the truth I have said, and I persist in that." Scandalous Hébert has borne his testimony as to many things: as to one thing, concerning Marie-Antoinette and her little Son,—wherewith Human Speech had better not further be soiled. She has answered Hébert; a Juryman begs to observe that she has not answered as to *this*. "I have not answered," she exclaims with noble emotion, "because Nature refuses to answer such a charge brought against a Mother. I appeal to all the Mothers that are here." Robespierre, when he heard of it, broke out into something almost like swearing at the brutish blockheadism of this Hébert;¹ on whose foul head his foul lie has recoiled. At four o'clock on Wednesday morning, after two days and two nights of interrogating, jury-charging, and other darkening of counsel, the result comes out: sentence of Death. "Have you anything to say?" The Accused shook her head, without speech. Night's candles are

over the King in the matter of places and pensions, etc.). Then the goods taken from the Queen at the Temple were brought in, and she was examined as to their several uses. She attempted no cross-examination of witnesses, but was herself cross-examined the whole time as to their evidence. She concluded by saying: 'Yesterday I knew not who were to give evidence against me, or of what I was to be accused. No one has proved any positive fact against me. I was the King's wife and had to obey him.' Fouquier then spoke again, and the two counsel for the defence made a formal attempt to disprove some of the evidence, but cross-examined no witnesses, and called none of their own. Herman summed up without the least pretence at impartiality, inculcating the accused of everything (except the incest, which charge he passed over in silence). The jury were away one hour and found the Queen guilty on all counts. The trial terminated at 4.30 A.M. on 16th. (Campardon, i. 106, *sqq.*)

¹ Vilate, *Causes secrètes de la Révolution de Thermidor* (Paris, 1825), p. 179. [This was at a dinner given by Barère the next day. Vilate is a professional liar, but there is nothing improbable in the story.]

burning out; and with her too Time is finishing, and it will be Eternity and Day. This Hall of Tinville's is dark, ill-lighted except where she stands. Silently she withdraws from it, to die.

Two Processions, or Royal Progresses, three-and-twenty years apart, have often struck us with a strange feeling of contrast. The first is of a beautiful Archduchess and Dauphiness, quitting her Mother's City, at the age of Fifteen; towards hopes such as no other Daughter of Eve then had: 'On the morrow,' says Weber, an eye-witness, 'the Dauphiness left Vienna. The whole city crowded out; at first with a sorrow which was silent. She appeared: you saw her sunk back into her carriage; her face bathed in tears; hiding her eyes now with her handkerchief, now with her hands; several times putting out her head to see yet again this Palace of her Fathers, whither she was to return no more. She motioned her regret, her gratitude to the good Nation, which was crowding here to bid her farewell. Then arose not only tears; but piercing cries, on all sides. Men and women alike abandoned themselves to such expression of their sorrow. It was an audible sound of wail, in the streets and avenues of Vienna. The last Courier that followed her disappeared, and the crowd melted away.'¹

The young imperial Maiden of Fifteen has now become a worn discrowned Widow of Thirty-eight; gray before her time: this is the last Procession: 'Few minutes after the Trial ended, the drums were beating to arms in all Sections; at sunrise the armed force was on foot, cannons getting placed at the extremities of the Bridges, in the Squares, Crossways, all along from the Palais de Justice to the Place de la Révolution. By ten o'clock, numerous patrols were circulating in the Streets; thirty thousand foot and horse drawn up under arms. At eleven, Marie-Antoinette was brought out. She had on an undress of *piqué blanc*: she was led to the place of execution, in the same manner as an ordinary criminal; bound, on a Cart; accompanied by a

¹ Weber, i. 6.

‘Constitutional Priest in Lay dress ; escorted by numerous detachments of infantry and cavalry. These, and the double row of troops all along her road, she appeared to regard with indifference. On her countenance there was visible neither abashment nor pride. To the cries of *Vive la République* and *Down with Tyranny*, which attended her all the way, she seemed to pay no need. She spoke little to her Confessor. The tricolor Streamers on the housetops occupied her attention, in the Streets du Roule and Saint-Honoré ; she also noticed the Inscriptions on the house fronts. On reaching the Place de la Révolution, her looks turned towards the *Jardin National*, whilom Tuileries ; her face at that moment gave signs of lively emotion. She mounted the Scaffold with courage enough ; at a quarter past Twelve, her head fell ; the Executioner showed it to the people, amid universal long-continued cries of *Vive la République*.’¹

CHAPTER VIII

THE TWENTY-TWO

WHOM next, O Tinville ! The next are of a different colour : our poor Arrested Girondin Deputies. What of them could still be laid hold of ; our Vergniaud, Brissot, Fauchet, Valazé, Gensonné ; the once flower of French Patriotism, Twenty-two by the tale : *hither*, at Tinville’s Bar, onward from ‘safeguard of the French People,’ from confinement in the Luxembourg, imprisonment in the Conciergerie, have they now, by the course of things, arrived. Fouquier-Tinville must give what account of them he can.²

¹ Deux Amis, xi. 301. [On being taken back to the *Conciergerie* the Queen breakfasted calmly and wrote to her sister-in-law (Mme Elisabeth). She was offered a “Constitutional *Curé*” but replied ‘There are no *curés* left in Paris.’ (M. Campardon neither accepts nor rejects M. de Beauchêne’s statement that a real priest was secretly admitted. See Beauchêne’s *Louis XVII.*, ii. 129.) The “Constitutional *Curé*” accompanied her to the scaffold, but she never looked at nor spoke to him ; she was overwhelmed with outrages by the mob the whole way. (Campardon, i. 147-151.) In Dauban’s *Paris en 1793* (frontispiece) is a rough drawing by David, of the Queen in the cart going to the scaffold.]

²[This was in consequence of a report of Amar on October 3rd : when a decree had been passed, repeating the outlawry of the 15 escaped Girondists (*vid. supr.*, iii. 98), and ordering the arrest of the 75 Conventionals who had protested against June 2nd. Altogether by Amar’s report 129 persons (deputies or ex-deputies) were in-

Undoubtedly this Trial of the Girondins is the greatest that Fouquier has yet had to do. Twenty-two, all chief Republicans, ranged in a line there; the most eloquent in France; Lawyers too; not without friends in the auditory. How will Tinville prove these men guilty of Royalism, Federalism, Conspiracy against the Republic? Vergniaud's eloquence awakes once more; 'draws tears,' they say. And Journalists report, and the Trial lengthens itself out day after day; 'threatens to become eternal,' murmur many. Jacobinism and Municipality rise to the aid of Fouquier. On the 28th of the month, Hébert and others come in deputation to inform a Patriot Convention that the Revolutionary Tribunal is quite 'shackled by Forms of Law;' that a Patriot Jury ought to have 'the power of cutting short, of *terminer les débats*, when they feel themselves convinced.' Which pregnant suggestion, of cutting short, passes itself, with all despatch, into a Decree.¹

Accordingly, at ten o'clock on the night of the 30th of October, the Twenty-two, summoned back once more, receive this information, That the Jury feeling themselves convinced have cut short, have brought in their verdict; that the Accused are found guilty, and the Sentence on one and all of them is, Death with confiscation of goods.

criminated, several miscellaneous persons being added to the original victims of June 2nd, *e.g.*, Égalité, who had been in prison since April, Rebecqui and Kersaint, who had resigned their seats before June 2nd. The report was read with locked doors so that no one could escape (Biré, Légende, 380).

The Girondists brought to trial on 24th were twenty-one in number: Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Duperret, Carra, Gardien, Valazé, Duprat, Sillery, Fauchet, Ducos, Boyer-Fonfrède, Lasource, Beauvais, Duchâtel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Le Hardy, Boileau, Antiboul, Viger. The seat of honour at the Tribunal was reserved for Brissot not Vergniaud, for Brissot had been the real working head of the party (Biré, Légende, 36). The accused did not, according to Campardon, conduct themselves with any particular heroism; even Vergniaud only found his tongue for a few minutes, but they cross-examined their witnesses with some skill, and generally tried to prove themselves *Montagnards*. (Campardon, i. 152, *sqq.*)

¹[It was Fouquier's letter to the Convention, stating that the trial had now lasted five days and that only nine witnesses had been heard, "each of whom wishes to give the whole history of the Revolution," that led to the decree of 29th, which was proposed by Robespierre, that after three days of a trial the President of the Tribunal may ask the jurors if they are convinced; if they reply 'no,' the trial may continue; if they reply 'yes,' verdict and judgment may be delivered at once. At the same time the title of the Tribunal was changed from *Tribunal Criminel Extraordinaire* to *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* (*ibid.*).]

Loud natural clamour rises among the poor Girondins ; tumult ; which can only be repressed by the gendarmes. Valazé stabs himself ; falls down dead on the spot. The rest, amid loud clamour and confusion, are driven back to their Conciergerie ; Lasource exclaiming, " I die on the day when the People have lost their reason ; ye will die when they recover it." ¹ No help ! Yielding to violence, the Doomed uplift the Hymn of the Marseillaise ; return singing to their dungeon.

Riouffe, who was their Prison-mate in these last days, has lovingly recorded what death they made. To our notions, it is not an edifying death. Gay satirical *Pot-pourri* by Ducos ; ² rhymed Scenes of Tragedy, wherein Barrère and Robespierre discourse with Satan ; death's eve spent in 'singing' and 'sallies of gaiety,' with 'discourses on the happiness of peoples : ' these things, and the like of these, we have to accept for what they are worth. It is the manner in which the Girondins make *their* Last Supper. Valazé, with bloody breast, sleeps cold in death ; hears not the singing. Vergniaud has his dose of poison ; but it is not enough for his friends, it is enough only for himself ; wherefore he flings it from him ; presides at this Last Supper of the Girondins, with wild coruscations of eloquence, with song and mirth. Poor human Will struggles to assert itself ; if not in this way, then in that. ³

¹ Δημοσθένους εἰπόντος, Ἀποκτεροῦσί σε Ἀθηναῖοι, Φωκίων. Ἄν μανῶσω, εἶπε, σὲ δ', ἐὰν σωφρονῶσι.—Plut. *Opp.* t. iv. p. 310, ed. Reiske, 1776.

² [A few days before his death, on the news of the arrest of his friend Bailleul at Provins, Ducos composed this *pot-pourri* beginning with the words

'Un jour de cet automne
De Provins revenant'

set to a well-known air. It is really (for a French Revolution skit) almost humorous, and may be read at length in the Appx. to Riouffe's *Mémoires* (*Mém. sur les Prisons*, 273 *sqq.*). There is no mention in Riouffe of the 'rhymed tragedy' wherein Barrère and Robespierre discourse with Satan, but there were several such skits put out in the period after Thermidor, which were very likely composed in the prisons, notably the 'Dialogue des Morts' composed at *La Force*—the 'Club Infernal' of 'Pilpay' (an III.), etc. Possibly the reference is to the poem of Taschereau-Fargues, *A Maximilien Robespierre aux enfers* (twenty stanzas of twelve lines each), in British Museum, 935, b. 17.]

³ *Mémoires de Riouffe* (in *Mémoires sur les Prisons*, Paris, 1823), pp. 48-55. [Did Carlyle know Charles Nodier's book, published 1831, 'Le Dernier Banquet des Girondins,' afterwards dramatised by Dumas in 'Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge?' For Riouffe, who speaks (in *loc. cit.*) much of their gaiety and courage, and men-

But on the morrow morning all Paris is out ; such a crowd as no man had seen. The Death-carts, Valazé's cold corpse stretched among the yet living Twenty-one, roll along. Bareheaded, hands bound ; in their shirt-sleeves, coat flung loosely round the neck : so fare the eloquent of France ; bemurmured, beshouted. To the shouts of *Vive la République*, some of them keep answering with counter-shouts of *Vive la République*. Others, as Brissot, sit sunk in silence. At the foot of the scaffold they again strike up, with appropriate variations, the Hymn of the Marseillaise. Such an act of music ; conceive it well ! The yet Living chant there ; the chorus so rapidly wearing weak ! Samson's axe is rapid ; one head per minute, or little less. The chorus is wearing weak ; the chorus is worn out ;—farewell forevermore, ye Girondins. Te-Deum Fauchet has become silent ; Valazé's dead head is lopped : the sickle of the Guillotine has reaped the Girondins all away. 'The eloquent, the young, the beautiful and brave !' exclaims Riouffe. O Death, what feast is toward in thy ghastly Halls ?¹

Nor, alas, in the far Bourdeaux region will Girondism fare better. In caves of Saint-Émilion, in loft and cellar, the weariest months roll on ; apparel worn, purse empty ; wintry November come ; under Tallien and his Guillotine, all hope now gone. Danger drawing ever nigher, difficulty pressing ever straiter, they determine to separate. Not unpathetic the farewell ;² tall Barbaroux, cheeriest of brave men, stoops to clasp his Louvet : "In what place soever thou findest my Mother," cries he, "try to be instead of a son to her : no resource of mine

tions Vergniaud's dose of poison, says not a word of the banquet. On the face of it the story of Nodier, as repeated by Thiers, Michelet and Lamartine, is ridiculous, for an expensive banquet in the *Conciergerie* is about the last thing the Government would allow. There is no reason why they should not have supped together, but had the supper been of the kind to have earned the fame that has grown up about it, Riouffe would certainly have mentioned it. (Biré, *Légende*, 418-21.) As a matter of fact seven of them confessed to the Abbé Lothringer (and Fauchet, who was one of these, received the confession of another, Sillery), and four to the Abbé Lambert (*ibid.*.)

¹[The execution lasted only 38 minutes, which speaks well for the adroitness of the executioners (*ibid.* 423).]

²[June 17th '94.]

but I will share with thy Wife, should chance ever lead me where she is." ¹

Louvet went with Guadet, with Salles and Valadi ; Barbaroux with Buzot and Petion. Valadi soon went southward, on a way of his own. The two friends and Louvet had a miserable day and night ; the 14th of the November month, 1793. Sunk in wet, weariness and hunger, they knock, on the morrow, for help, at a friend's country-house ; the fainthearted friend refuses to admit them. They stood therefore under trees, in the pouring rain. Flying desperate, Louvet thereupon will to Paris. He sets forth, there and then, splashing the mud on each side of him, with a fresh strength gathered from fury or frenzy. He passes villages, finding ' the sentry asleep in his box in the thick rain ; ' he is gone, before the man can call after him. He bilks Revolutionary Committees ; rides in carriers' carts, covered carts and open ; lies hidden in one, under knapsacks and cloaks of soldiers' wives on the Street of Orléans, while men search for him ; has hairbreadth escapes that would fill three romances : finally he gets to Paris to his fair Helpmate ; gets to Switzerland, and waits better days.

Poor Guadet and Salles were both taken, ere long ; they died by the Guillotine in Bourdeaux ; ² drums beating to drown their voice. Valadi also is caught, and guillotined. Barbaroux and his two comrades weathered it longer, into the summer of 1794 ; but not long enough. One July morning, changing their hiding-place, as they have often to do, ' about a league from Saint-Émilion, they observe a great crowd of country-people : ' doubtless Jacobins come to take them ? Barbaroux draws a pistol, shoots himself dead. Alas, and it was not Jacobins ; it was harmless villagers going to a village wake. Two days afterwards, Buzot and Petion were found in a Corn-field, their bodies half-eaten by dogs. ³

¹ Louvet, p. 213. ² [June 19th '94.]

³ Recherches Historiques sur les Girondins (in Mém. de Buzot), p. 108. [Carlyle's chronology is wild : Salles and Guadet were arrested at Saint-Émilion on June 17th '94 and executed at Bourdeaux on 19th (? or 20th). It was on the day of their arrest that Barbaroux joined Petion and Buzot in the open country : the

Such was the end of Girondism. They arose to regenerate France, these men ; and have accomplished *this*. Alas, whatever quarrel we had with them, has not their cruel fate abolished it ? Pity only survives. So many excellent souls of heroes sent down to Hades ; they themselves given as a prey of dogs and all manner of birds ! But, here too, the will of the Supreme Power was accomplished. As Vergniaud said :¹ ‘ the Revolution, like Saturn, is devouring its own children.’

place where they were seen by the villagers was Saint-Magne de Castillon, near Saint-Émilion. Barbaroux did not shoot himself dead, but lived to be executed at Bordeaux on June 25th, though in a horribly mutilated state.

It was on June 26th that the bodies of Buzot and Petion were found in a state of decomposition in the same *Commune* of Saint-Magne ; this warrants the supposition that they shot themselves about a week before. (Biré, *Légende*, 428-30.)

Louvet reached Paris Dec. 6th, and left Feb. 6th '94 (in disguise of course). (See Louvet, 273, 295.)]

¹[March 13th '93.]

BOOK V

TERROR THE ORDER OF THE DAY

CHAPTER I

RUSHING DOWN

WE are now, therefore, got to that black precipitous Abyss; whither all things have long been tending; where, having now arrived on the giddy verge, they hurl down, in confused ruin; headlong, pellmell, down, down;—till Sansculottism have consummated itself; and in this wondrous French Revolution, as in a Doomsday, a World have been rapidly, if not born again, yet destroyed and engulfed. Terror has long been terrible: but to the actors themselves it has now become manifest that their appointed course is one of Terror; and they say, Be it so. "*Que la Terreur soit à l'ordre du jour.*"¹

So many centuries, say only from Hugh Capet downwards, had been adding together, century transmitting it with increase to century, the sum of Wickedness, of Falsehood, Oppression of man by man. Kings were sinners, and Priests were, and People. Open Scoundrels rode triumphant, bediademed, becoroneted, bemitred; or the still fataller species of Secret-Scoundrels, in their fair-sounding formulas, speciosities, respectabilities, hollow within: the race of Quacks was grown many as the sands of the sea. Till at length such a sum of Quackery had accumulated itself as, in brief, the Earth and the Heavens were weary of. Slow seemed the Day of Settlement; coming on, all imper-

¹[The decree that 'Terror is the Order of the Day' is in one of Barère's rhodomontades (Sept. 5th): it was followed by a series of decrees against strangers residing in France, and for the rigorous treatment of the conquered countries—decrees which, it is almost needless to point out, completely give the lie to the earlier principles of the Revolution. (Sorel, iii. 475, *sqq.*)]

ceptible, across the bluster and fanfaronade of Courtierisms, Conquering-Heroisms, Most Christian *Grand Monarque*-isms, Well-beloved Pompadourisms: yet behold it was always coming; behold it has come, suddenly, unlooked for by any man! The harvest of long centuries was ripening and whitening so rapidly of late; and now it is grown *white*, and is reaped rapidly, as it were, in one day. Reaped, in this Reign of Terror; and carried home, to Hades and the Pit!—Unhappy Sons of Adam: it is ever so; and never do they know it, nor will they know it. With cheerfully smoothed countenances, day after day, and generation after generation, they, calling cheerfully to one another, Well-speed-ye, are at work, *sowing the wind*. And yet, as God lives, they *shall reap the whirlwind*: no other thing, we say, is possible,—since God is a Truth and His World is a Truth.

History, however, in dealing with this Reign of Terror, has had her own difficulties. While the Phenomenon continued in its primary state, as mere 'Horrors of the French Revolution,' there was abundance to be said and shrieked. With and also without profit. Heaven knows, there were terrors and horrors enough: yet that was not all the Phenomenon; nay, more properly, that was not the Phenomenon at all, but rather was the *shadow* of it, the negative part of it. And now, in a new stage of the business, when History, ceasing to shriek, would try rather to include under her old Forms of speech or speculation this new amazing Thing; that so some accredited scientific Law of Nature might suffice for the unexpected Product of Nature, and History might get to speak of it articulately, and draw inferences and profit from it; in this new stage, History, we must say, babbles and flounders perhaps in a still painfuller manner. Take, for example, the latest Form of speech we have seen propounded on the subject as adequate to it, almost in these months, by our worthy M. Roux, in his *Histoire Parlementaire*, The latest and the strangest: that the French Revolution was a dead-lift effort, after eighteen hundred years of preparation, to

realise—the Christian Religion!¹ *Unity, Indivisibility, Brotherhood or Death*, did indeed stand printed on all Houses of the Living; also, on Cemeteries, or Houses of the Dead, stood printed, by order of Procureur Chaumette, *Here is Eternal Sleep*:² but a Christian Religion realised by the Guillotine and Death—Eternal ‘is suspect to me,’ as Robespierre was wont to say, ‘*m’est suspecte.*’

Alas, no, M. Roux! A Gospel of Brotherhood, not according to any of the Four old Evangelists, and calling on men to repent, and amend *each his own* wicked existence, that they might be saved; but a Gospel rather, as we often hint, according to a new Fifth Evangelist Jean-Jacques, calling on men to amend *each the whole world’s* wicked existence, and be saved by making the Constitution. A thing different and distant *toto cælo*, as they say: the whole breadth of the sky, and further if possible!—It is thus, however, that History, and indeed all human Speech and Reason does yet, what Father Adam began life by doing: strive to *name* the new Things it sees of Nature’s producing,—often helplessly enough.

But what if History were to admit, for once, that all the Names and Theorems yet known to her fall short? That this grand Product of Nature was even grand, and new, in that it

¹ Hist. Parl. (Introd.), i. 1 *et seqq.* [The *Histoire Parlementaire de la Rév. Fr.*, ou journal des Assemblées nationales depuis 1789 jusqu’à 1815, by P. J. B. Buchez (sometime *Maire* of Paris, deputy for Paris after the Revolution of ’48, died 1865) and P. C. Roux-Lavergne, was first published in 40 volumes at Paris, 1834–48. A second edition was begun in 1846 but only seven volumes appeared.]

M. Aulard, quoted in Tourneux, i. 23, calls it ‘a gigantic work without proportions, plan or style, but containing a mass of documents, the reprint of a part of the *Moniteur*, of numberless newspaper articles, pamphlets and *Mémoires.*’ The authors are interesting people, as they were both apostles of Carbonarism, Saint-Simonism and what is now called “Christian Socialism.” Both had the bitterest experience, in the Chamber of 1848, of Democracy as it really is; and Roux-Lavergne ended by becoming a priest. The passage referred to by Carlyle is the opening sentence, “the French Revolution is the last and most advanced product of modern civilisation, and modern civilisation is the child of the Gospel.”]

² *Deux Amis*, xii. 78. [*Deux Amis* (in *loc. cit.*) says the inscription suggested by Chaumette was ‘*L’homme juste ne meurt pas, il vit dans la mémoire de ses concitoyens:*’ but the inscription over cemeteries ‘here is eternal sleep’ was often to be found in the Provinces. Nor is anything said in the passage cited about the inscriptions on houses (but see *Deux Amis*, xii. 157). Fouché did actually order the words ‘Death is an eternal sleep’ to be inscribed on all graveyards in the Departments of the West while he was *en mission* there (in the Nièvre; see his letter of Oct. 10th, quoted in *Rév. de la Rév.* ii. ii. 56).]

came not to range itself under old recorded Laws of Nature at all, but to disclose new ones? In that case, History renouncing the pretension to *name* it at present, will *look* honestly at it, and name what she can of it! Any approximation to the right Name has value: were the right Name itself once here, the Thing is known henceforth; the Thing is then ours, and can be dealt with.

Now surely not realisation, of Christianity, or of aught earthly, do we discern in this Reign of Terror, in this French Revolution of which it is the consummating. Destruction rather we discern,—of all that was destructible. It is as if Twenty-five millions, risen at length into the Pythian mood, had stood up simultaneously to say, with a sound which goes through far lands and times, that this Untruth of an Existence had become insupportable. O ye Hypocrisies and Speciosities, Royal mantles, Cardinal plush-cloaks, ye Credos, Formulas, Respectabilities, fair-painted Sepulchres full of dead men's bones,—behold, ye appear to us to be altogether a Lie. Yet our Life is not a Lie; yet our Hunger and Misery is not a Lie! Behold we lift up, one and all, our Twenty-five million right-hands; and take the Heavens, and the Earth and also the Pit of Tophet to witness, that either ye shall be abolished, or else we shall be abolished!

No inconsiderable Oath, truly; forming, as has been often said, the most remarkable transaction in these last thousand years. Wherefrom likewise there follow, and will follow, results. The fulfilment of this Oath; that is to say, the black desperate battle of Men against their whole Condition and Environment,—a battle, alas, withal, against the Sin and Darkness that was in themselves as in others: this is the Reign of Terror. Transcendental despair was the purport of it, though not consciously so. False hopes, of Fraternity, Political Millennium, and what not, we have always seen: but the unseen heart of the whole, the transcendental despair, was not false; neither has it been of no effect. Despair, pushed far enough, completes the circle, so to speak; and becomes a kind of genuine productive hope again.

Doctrine of Fraternity, out of old Catholicism, does, it is true, very strangely in the vehicle of a Jean-Jacques Evangel, sud-

denly plump down out of its cloud-firmament; and from a theorem determine to make itself a practice. But just so do all creeds, intentions, customs, knowledges, thoughts and things, which the French have, suddenly plump down; Catholicism, Classicism, Sentimentalism, Cannibalism: all *isms* that make up Man in France, are rushing and roaring in that gulf; and the theorem has become a practice, and whatsoever cannot swim sinks. Not Evangelist Jean-Jacques alone; there is not a Village Schoolmaster but has contributed his quota: do we not *thou* one another, according to the Free Peoples of Antiquity? The French Patriot, in red Phrygian night-cap of Liberty, christens his poor little red infant Cato,—Censor, or else of Utica. Gracchus has become Babœuf,¹ and edits Newspapers; Mutius Scævola, Cordwainer of that ilk, presides in the Section Mutius-Scævola:² and in brief, there is a world wholly jumbling itself, to try what will swim.

Wherefore we will, at all events, call this Reign of Terror a very strange one. Dominant Sansculottism makes, as it were, free arena; one of the strangest temporary states Humanity was ever seen in. A nation of men, full of wants and void of habits! The old habits are gone to wreck because they were old: men, driven forward by Necessity and fierce Pythian Madness, have, on the spur of the instant, to devise for the want the *way* of satisfying it. The Wonted tumbles down; by imitation, by invention, the Unwonted hastily builds itself up. What the

¹[F. N. Babeuf, born 1764, founded a violent newspaper at Amiens called *Le Correspondent Picard* and was indicted for it (1790). He held various Municipal appointments in his Department during the Revolution—was tried for forgery, but acquitted. In July '94 he began to publish in Paris his *Tribun du peuple*, preaching community of goods and absolute socialism. He is best known as the author of a violent plot against Society and the Directory in '97, for which he was condemned to death. A great number of the old Septemberers and Jacobins were involved in the plot and many of them were transported for it. In the *Tribun* Bæbeuf took the name of 'Caius Gracchus;' it is believed that the *Tribun* had much to do with the insurrections of 'Germinal' and 'Prairial' in the spring of '95.]

²[Between Sept. and Nov. '93 the Section *Luxembourg* got itself called 'Mutius Scævola;' the president of this Section at the beginning of '94 was one Rocher, perhaps the sapper who carried Marat in triumph (*vid. supr.*, iii. 46, and Campardon, i. 38 note). But I have been unable to trace any person taking the name of 'Mutius Scævola.']

French National head has in it comes out: if not a great result, surely one of the strangest.

Neither shall the Reader fancy that it was all black, this Reign of Terror: far from it. How many hammermen and squaremen, bakers and brewers, washers and wringers, over this France, must ply their old daily work, let the Government be one of Terror or one of Joy! In this Paris there are Twenty-three Theatres nightly; some count as many as Sixty Places of Dancing.¹ The Play-wright manufactures,—pieces of a strictly Republican character.² Ever fresh Novel-garbage, as of old, foddors the Circulating Libraries.³ The 'Cesspool of *Agio*,' now in a time of Paper Money, works with a vivacity unexampled, unimagined; exhales from itself 'sudden fortunes,' like Aladdin-Palaces:⁴ really a kind of miraculous Fata-Morganas, since you *can* live in them, for a time. Terror is as a sable ground, on which the most variegated of scenes paints itself. In startling transitions, in colours all intensated, the sublime, the ludicrous, the horrible succeed one another; or rather, in crowding tumult, accompany one another.

Here, accordingly, if anywhere, the 'hundred tongues,' which

¹ Mercier, ii. 124.

² [Abundant evidence is at hand of the extreme dulness of these 'Republican' pieces at the theatres, which were under the strict *surveillance* of the *Comité de Salut Public* and naturally fell to Collot's imagination to regulate. One *Agent National*, who seems to have possessed a sense of humour rare in his kind, writes to the Committee that he thinks it a pity to substitute *Citoyen* and *Citoyenne* for *Monsieur* and *Madame* in *all* pieces, and also to decorate Jupiter or Armida with the tricolor cockade (May 3rd '94; Schmidt, ii. 203). Perrière in Sept. '93 finds all the big theatres except that of the *République* to be anti-Revolutionary—the *Feydeau* and the *Français* the worst. The *Théâtre Français* was accordingly closed on Sept. 3rd, the author of the piece then being played (*Paméla*) and all the actors arrested, and free weekly performances of Republican tragedies, such as 'Brutus,' 'William Tell' and 'Caius Gracchus,' ordered (Aulard, *Recueil*, vi. 236).

Your Parisian will of course dance and go to the theatre if he can, but Dutard's evidence (Schmidt, ii. *passim*) is rather to the effect that the respectable *bourgeoisie*, during the Terror and the famine, avoided all public places of amusement, in the same way as they avoided politics.]

³ *Moniteur* of these months, *passim*.

⁴ [The rage for gambling on the Stock Exchange, which had been growing ever since the times of Law and the Regent, probably reached its height after Thermidor, but we have plenty of evidence that it was active in '93—4, although the *Bourse* was legally shut; also of the existence of numberless small 'gaming hells' which attracted the very poorest class; see especially the report of Latour-Lamontagne to Garat, June 16th '93 (Schmidt, ii. 58).]

the old Poets often clamour for, were of supreme service! In defect of any such organ on our part, let the Reader stir up his own imaginative organ: let us snatch for him this or the other significant glimpse of things, in the fittest sequence we can.

CHAPTER II

DEATH

IN the early days of November, there is one transient glimpse of things that is to be noted: the last transit to his long home of Philippe d'Orléans Égalité. Philippe was 'decreed accused,' along with the Girondins, much to his and their surprise; but not tried along with them. They are doomed and dead, some three days, when Philippe, after his long half-year of durance at Marseilles, arrives in Paris. It is, as we calculate, the third of November 1793.

On which same day, two notable Female Prisoners are also put in ward there: Dame Dubarry, and Joséphine Beauharnais.¹ Dame whilom Countess Dubarry, Unfortunate-female, had returned from London; they snatched her, not only as Ex-harlot of a whilom Majesty, and therefore suspect; but as having 'furnished the Emigrants with money.' Contemporaneously with whom there comes the wife Beauharnais, soon to be the widow: she that is Joséphine Tascher Beauharnais; that shall be Joséphine Empress Buonaparte,—for a black Divineress of the Tropics prophesied long since that she should be a Queen and more. Likewise, in the same hours, poor Adam Lux, nigh turned in the head, who, according to Forster, 'has taken no food these three weeks,' marches to the Guillotine for his Pamphlet on Charlotte Corday; he 'sprang to the scaffold;' said 'he died for

¹[Madame Dubarry, *vid. supr.*, i. 5. Joséphine Beauharnais was arrested on April 20th '94, on presenting herself at her Section to demand a passport to leave Paris, and released on Aug. 6th (ten days after Thermidor), at Mme de Fontenay's intercession. She was confined at the *Carmes*, where Coittant saw her and said she was much liked. (Coittant's Journal in *Mém. sur les Prisons*, quoted in Dauban, *Prisons*, p. 375; Aubenas, *Hist. de Joséphine*, Paris, 1857, i. 241; Frédéric Masson, *Joséphine de Beauharnais*, Paris, 1899, p. 240.)]

her with great joy.¹ Amid such fellow-travellers does Philippe arrive. For, be the month named Brumaire year 2 of Liberty, or November year 1793 of Slavery, the Guillotine goes always, *Guillotine va toujours*.

Enough, Philippe's indictment is soon drawn,² his jury soon convinced. He finds himself made guilty of Royalism, Conspiracy and much else; nay, it is a guilt in him that he voted Louis's Death, though he answers, "I voted in my soul and conscience." The doom he finds is death forthwith; this present sixth day of November is the last day that Philippe is to see. Philippe, says Montgaillard, thereupon called for breakfast: sufficiency of 'oysters, two cutlets, best part of an excellent bottle of claret;' and consumed the same with apparent relish. A Revolutionary Judge, or some official Convention Emissary, then arrived, to signify that he might still do the State some service by revealing the truth about a plot or two. Philippe answered that, on him, in the pass things had come to, the State had, he thought, small claim; that nevertheless, in the interest of Liberty, he, having still some leisure on his hands, was willing, were a reasonable question asked him, to give a reasonable answer. And so, says Montgaillard, he leant his elbow on the mantel-piece, and conversed in an undertone, with great seeming composure; till the leisure was done, or the Emissary went his ways.³

At the door of the Conciergerie, Philippe's attitude was erect and easy, almost commanding. It is five years, all but a few days, since Philippe, within these same stone walls, stood up with an air of graciousness, and asked King Louis, "Whether it was a Royal Session, then, or a Bed of Justice?" O Heaven!—Three poor blackguards were to ride and die with him: some say, they

¹[Nov. 4th.]

²[D'Orléans had been sent to *Château d'If*, at Marseilles, on April 7th '93: he was now transferred to the *Conciergerie*, and brought before the Tribunal on Nov. 6th. He was chiefly incriminated as regards his relations with Dumouriez, and as to a journey to England to see his daughter. (Campardon, i. 167.)]

³[This story occurs only in Montgaillard (of contemporary authorities), who says "he cannot give the name of the member of the Tribunal who received the "last avis of the Duke because (1827) the man is still alive." Toulougeon does not mention it, nor does Vautibault (*Les d'Orléans*); but the story is repeated, apparently from Montgaillard, in M. Tournois, *Hist. de L. P. J. Duc d'Orléans* (Paris, 1842), vol. ii. p. 387.]

objected to such company, and had to be flung in, neck and heels ;¹ but it seems not true. Objecting or not objecting, the gallows-vehicle gets under way. Philippe's dress is remarked for its elegance : green frock, waistcoat of white *piqué*, yellow buckskins, boots clear as Warren : his air, as before, entirely composed, impassive, not to say easy and Brummellean-polite. Through street after street ; slowly, amid execrations ;—past the Palais Égalité, whilom Palais Royal ! The cruel Populace stopped him there, some minutes : Dame de Buffon, it is said, looked out on him, in Jezebel headdress ; along the ashlar Wall there ran these words in huge tricolor print, REPUBLIC ONE AND INDIVISIBLE ; LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY OR DEATH : *National Property*. Philippe's eyes flashed hellfire, one instant ; but the next instant it was gone, and he sat impassive, Brummellean-polite. On the scaffold, Samson was for drawing off his boots : “Tush,” said Philippe, “they will come better off *after* ; let us have done, *dépêchons-nous !*”²

So Philippe was not without virtue, then ? God forbid that there should be any living man without it ! He had the virtue to keep living for five-and-forty years ;—other virtues perhaps more than we know of. But probably no mortal ever had such things recorded of him : such facts, and also such lies. For he was a *Jacobin Prince of the Blood* ; consider what a combination ! Also, unlike any Nero, any Borgia, he lived in the Age of Pamphlets. Enough for us : Chaos *has* reabsorbed him ; may it late or never bear his like again !—Brave young Orléans Égalité, deprived of all, only not deprived of himself, is gone

¹ Forster, ii. 628 ; Montgaillard, iv. 141-57. [Carlyle quotes Forster in the Leipzig edition 1829. “The three poor blackguards” were the Deputy Coustard, a nobleman called Laroque, Pierre Gondier a stockbroker, and Antoine Brousse a locksmith (really four). According to Montgaillard it was the last who objected to go in the same cart with the *infâme scélérat d'Orléans*. D'Orléans certainly confessed to the Abbé Lothringer, and confessed especially the sin of having helped to the King's death. (See the letter written by the Abbé quoted in Campardon, i. 168 note.)

According to Dauban (who however does not give his authority, Paris en 1793, p. 501) it was Laroque who declared it humiliated him to go to death in the same cart with d'Orléans. Forster calls the fellow prisoners a ‘couple of labouring men’ and only says they jeered d'Orléans on his arrival at the scaffold (in *loc. cit.*.)

²[This part of the story is confirmed by Gazeau de Vautibault, *Les d'Orléans* (Paris, 1889), p. 88.]

to Coire in the Grisons, under the name of Corby, to teach Mathematics. The Égalité Family is at the darkest depths of the Nadir.

A far nobler Victim follows; one who will claim remembrance from several centuries: Jeanne-Marie Phlipon, the Wife of Roland.¹ Queenly, sublime in her uncomplaining sorrow, seemed she to Riouffe in her Prison. ‘Something more than is usually ‘found in the looks of women painted itself,’ says Riouffe,² ‘in ‘those large black eyes of hers, full of expression and sweetness. ‘She spoke to me often, at the Grate: we were all attentive ‘round her, in a sort of admiration and astonishment; she ‘expressed herself with a purity, with a harmony and prosody ‘that made her language like music, of which the ear could never ‘have enough. Her conversation was serious, not cold; coming ‘from the mouth of a beautiful woman, it was frank and courageous as that of a great man.’ ‘And yet her maid said: “Before ‘you, she collects her strength; but in her own room, she will ‘sit three hours sometimes leaning on the window, and weeping.”’ She has been in Prison, liberated once, but recaptured the same hour, ever since the first of June: in agitation and uncertainty; which has gradually settled down into the last stern certainty, that of death. In the Abbaye Prison, she occupied Charlotte Corday’s apartment. Here in the Conciergerie, she speaks with Riouffe, with Ex-Minister Clavière; calls the beheaded Twenty-two “*Nos amis*, our Friends,”—whom we are soon to follow. During these five months, those *Memoirs* of hers were written, which all the world still reads.

But now, on the 8th of November, ‘clad in white,’ says Riouffe, ‘with her long black hair hanging down to her girdle,’ she is gone to the Judgment-bar. She returned with a quick step; lifted her finger, to signify to us that she was doomed: her eyes seemed to have been wet. Fouquier-Tinville’s questions had been

¹[For my judgment on Mme Roland *vid. supr.*, i. 406. She was transferred to the *Conciergerie* on Nov. 1st; she was twice interrogated before her trial and condemned on the usual charge of complicity with the deputies at Caen. (Dauban, *Étude*, 239 *sqq.*)]

² *Mémoires* (Sur les Prisons, i.), pp. 55-7.

‘brutal;’ offended female honour¹ flung them back on him, with scorn, not without tears. And now, short preparation soon done, she too shall go her last road. There went with her a certain Lamarche, ‘Director of Assignat-printing;’ whose dejection she endeavoured to cheer. Arrived at the foot of the scaffold, she asked for pen and paper, “to write the strange thoughts that were rising in her:”² a remarkable request; which was refused. Looking at the Statue of Liberty which stands there, she says bitterly: “O Liberty, what things are done in thy name!” For Lamarche’s sake,³ she will die first; show him how easy it is to die: “Contrary to the order,” said Samson.—“Pshaw, you cannot refuse the last request of a Lady;” and Samson yielded.

Noble white Vision, with its high queenly face, its soft proud eyes, long black hair flowing down to the girdle; and as brave a heart as ever beat in woman’s bosom! Like a white Grecian Statue, serenely complete, she shines in that black wreck of things;—long memorable. Honour to great Nature who, in Paris City, in the Era of Noble-Sentiment and Pompadourism, can make a Jeanne Phlipon, and nourish her to clear perennial Womanhood, though but on Logics, *Encyclopédies*, and the Gospel according to Jean-Jacques! Biography will long remember that trait of asking for a pen “to write the strange thoughts that were rising in her.” It is as a little light-beam, shedding softness, and a kind of sacredness, over all that preceded: so in her too there was an Unnameable; she too was a Daughter of the Infinite; there were mysteries which Philosophism had not dreamt of!—She left long written counsels to her little Girl; she said her Husband would not survive her.

¹[The reference to ‘offended female honour’ refers to some question asked her by David, at the *Tribunal*, with reference to her private relations with some of the incriminated deputies: she avoided a direct answer, and merely said she had known them with her husband and through her husband. Her first interrogatory was on Nov. 1st, her second on 3rd; her trial was on 8th. (Campardon, i. 191, *sqq.*)]

²Mémoires de Madame Roland (Introd.), i. 68.

³[Simon François Lamarche, Director-General of *Assignats*. Dauban (244) calls him Lamarque. He was condemned for the “conspiracy of Aug. 10th.” Both Campardon and Dauban say just the reverse about the order of dying—to soothe Lamarche she let him die first. (Campardon, i. 174; Dauban, 242.)]

Still crueller was the fate of poor Bailly,¹ First National President, First Mayor of Paris: doomed now for Royalism, Fayetteism; for that Red-flag Business of the Champ-de-Mars;—one may say in general, for leaving his astronomy to meddle with Revolution. It is the 10th of November 1793, a cold bitter drizzling rain, as poor Bailly is led through the streets; howling Populace covering him with curses, with mud; waving over his face a burning or smoking mockery of a Red Flag. Silent, unpitied, sits the innocent old man. Slow faring through the sleety drizzle, they have got to the Champ-de-Mars: Not there! vociferates the cursing Populace; such Blood ought not to stain an Altar of the Fatherland: not there; but on that dung-heap by the River-side! So vociferates the cursing Populace; Officiality gives ear to them. The Guillotine is taken down, though with hands numbed by the sleety drizzle; is carried to the River-side; is there set up again, with slow numbness; pulse after pulse still counting itself out in the old man's weary heart. For hours long; amid curses and bitter frost-rain! "Bailly, thou tremblest," said one. "*Mon ami*, it is for cold," said Bailly, "*c'est de froid.*" Crueller end had no mortal.²

Some days afterwards, Roland, hearing the news of what happened on the 8th, embraces his kind Friends at Rouen, leaves their kind house which had given him refuge; goes forth, with farewell too sad for tears. On the morrow morning, 16th of the month, 'some four leagues from Rouen, Paris-ward, near 'Bourg-Baudoin, in M. Normand's Avenue,' there is seen sitting leant against a tree the figure of a rigorous wrinkled man; stiff now in the rigour of death; a cane-sword run through his heart;

¹[Nov. 11th.]

²Vie de Bailly (in Mém. i.), p. 29. [Campardon (i. 179) adds that Bailly was himself compelled to carry some of the planks of the scaffold from the *Champ-de-Mars* to the dung-heap, and that he fainted under the heavy load.

Bailly had retired into private life in Sept. '91 and had gone to live near Nantes, but after Aug. 10th he wrote to a friend who lived at Melun to ask whether he could find him a quiet retreat there. This friend (M. Laplace) offered to share his house with him, but just as Bailly arrived at Melun he was arrested by one of those ambulatory 'Revolutionary Armies,' which were scattering themselves over France, authorised or unauthorised, in the autumn of '93. While in prison he addressed an appeal, printed in the Appx. to the first vol. of his *Mémoires, J. S. Bailly à ses Concitoyens*, and also wrote the *Mémoires* themselves from notes in his possession.]

and at his feet this writing : 'Whoever thou art that findest me lying, respect my remains: they are those of a man who consecrated all his life to being useful; and who has died as he lived, virtuous and honest.' 'Not fear, but indignation, made me quit my retreat, on learning that my Wife had been murdered. I wished not to remain longer on an Earth polluted with crimes.'¹

Barnave's appearance at the Revolutionary Tribunal² was of the bravest; but it could not stead him. They have sent for him from Grenoble; to pay the common smart. Vain is eloquence, forensic or other, against the dumb Clotho-shears of Tinville. He is still but two-and-thirty, this Barnave, and has known such changes. Short while ago, we saw him at the top of Fortune's wheel, his word a law to all Patriots: and now surely he is at the *bottom* of the wheel; in stormful altercation with a Tinville Tribunal, which is dooming him to die!³ And Petion, once also of the Extreme Left, and named *Petion Virtue*, where is he? Civilly dead; in the Caves of Saint-Émilion; to be devoured of dogs. And Robespierre, who rode along with him on the shoulders of the people, is in Committee of *Salut*; civilly alive: not to live always. So giddy-swift whirls and spins this immeasurable *tormentum* of a Revolution: wild-booming; not to be followed by the eye. Barnave, on the scaffold, stamped with his foot;⁴ and looking upwards was heard to ejaculate, "This then is my reward?"

Deputy Ex-Procureur Manuel is already gone;⁵ and Deputy Osselin, famed also in August and September, is about to go:⁶ and Rabaut, discovered treacherously between his two walls,⁷ and the Brother of Rabaut.⁸ National Deputies not a few!

¹ Mémoires de Madame Roland (Introd.), i. 88.

² [Nov. 27th. Barnave was tried with Duport-du-Tertre: their trial lasted two days. Barnave conducted his own case with great eloquence; he had been under arrest at Grenoble since Aug. 31st '92.]

³ Forster, ii. 629. ⁴ [Nov. 28th.] ⁵ [Nov. 14th.]

⁶ [June 26th ('94).] ⁷ [Dec. 5th '93.]

⁸ [Manuel was really condemned for having behaved too humanely to the prisoners in the Temple, and especially to the Queen (Campardon, i. 179, *sqq.*). He had resigned his seat in the Convention after the King's death and retired to Montargis; he was only arrested on Nov. 12th. He seems to have been a strange mixture of violence and humanity; a Septemberer, he yet saved numerous friends

And Generals: the memory of General Custine cannot be defended by his Son; his Son is already guillotined.¹ Custine the Ex-Noble was replaced by Houchard the Plebeian;² he too could not prosper in the North; for him too there was no mercy; he has perished³ in the Place de la Révolution, after attempting suicide in Prison. And Generals Biron,⁴ Beauharnais,⁵ Brunet,⁶ whatsoever General prospers not; tough old Lückner, with his eyes grown rheumy; Alsatian Westermann, valiant and diligent in La Vendée: *none of them can, as the Psalmist sings, his soul from death deliver.*⁷

How busy are the Revolutionary Committees; Sections with their Forty Halfpence a-day! Arrestment on arrestment falls quick, continual; followed by death. Ex-Minister Clavière has

from the massacres; but, when bribed to save Mme de Lamballe, took the bribe and did nothing to save her (*ibid.* 184). Osselin had been one of the judges of the August *Tribunal* and deputy for Paris to Convention: in Nov. '93 he was condemned to transportation, but on June 26th '94 guillotined instead. Rabaut-Saint-Étienne and his brother Rabaut-Pommier had been hidden in the Faubourg Poissonnière, in the house of Madame Peyssac (who with her husband was executed for hiding them, June 25th '94), but both were discovered and sent to prison. But Rabaut-Pommier was forgotten in prison and lived to sit in the Council of 500. (Campardon, i. 184-199.)

¹[Jan. 3rd '94.]

²[Houchard had been the first General to reassume the offensive against the Allies after the failure of Custine to relieve Condé and Valenciennes. Carnot ordered him to fight a battle to deliver Dunkirk: but he advanced somewhat tentatively, and the victory of Hondschoote, Sept. 6th—8th, is attributed not so much to the General as to his lieutenants, Jourdan and Vandamme, and to the lucky *sortie* of the garrison of Dunkirk directed by Hoche. Moreover Houchard omitted to follow up his success; and, though he beat the Dutch troops a few days afterwards at Menin, he was unable to prevent Coburg from taking Quesnoy (Sept. 11th). Houchard was immediately deprived of his command (which was given to Jourdan, Sept. 22nd), and accused of treason by Robespierre at the Jacobins, in a speech which was a mere tissue of lies. Houchard's condemnation was perhaps as infamous as any act of the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*; he was guillotined Nov. 17th. (See Carnot's Corresp. iii. 199; *vid. infr.*, iii. 153, for Hondschoote.)]

³[Nov. 17th '93.]

⁴[The Duc de Biron, born 1747, entered the army at the age of 14 and rose steadily, was deputy to States-General for the *Noblesse* of Quercy, commanded Army of Rhine, July '92; of Italy, Dec. '92; of Rochelle, May '93; arrested June 16th '93; guillotined Dec. 31st '93. He was one of the very few leading soldiers who heartily accepted the Republic; Carnot's early letters cannot praise his patriotism enough.]

⁵[The Vicomte de Beauharnais, born in Martinique 1760, deputy to States-General for *Noblesse* of Blois; General of Division, March '93; guillotined, July 23rd '94.]

⁶[Brunet, an artillery officer in the old army on the retired list, rejoined Sept. '92; General of Army of Italy, April 25th '93; arrested Sept. 10th; guillotined Nov. 14th '93.]

⁷[Luckner, *vid. supr.*, ii. 2; Westermann, *vid. supr.*, ii. 251.]

killed himself in Prison.¹ Ex-Minister Lebrun, seized in a hay-loft,² under the disguise of a working man, is instantly conducted to death.³ Nay, withal, is it not what Barrère calls 'coining money on the Place de la Révolution?' For always the 'property of the guilty, if property he have,' is confiscated. To avoid accidents, we even make a Law that suicide shall not defraud us! that a criminal who kills himself does not the less incur forfeiture of goods. Let the guilty tremble, therefore, and the suspect, and the rich, and in a word all manner of Culottic men! Luxembourg Palace, once Monsieur's, has become a huge loathsome Prison; Chantilly Palace too, once Condé's:—And their Landlords are at Blankenberg, on the wrong side of the Rhine. In Paris are now some Twelve Prisons;⁴ in France some Forty-four Thousand: thitherward, thick as brown leaves in Autumn, rustle and travel the suspect; shaken down by Revolutionary Committees, they are swept thitherward, as into their storehouse,—to be consumed by Samson and Tinville. 'The Guillotine goes not ill, *La Guillotine ne va pas mal.*'

CHAPTER III

DESTRUCTION

THE suspect may well tremble; but how much more the open rebels;—the Girondin Cities of the South! Revolutionary Army is gone forth, under Ronsin the Playwright;⁵ six thousand strong;

¹[Dec. 8th.]

²[Dec. 26th.]

³Moniteur, 11, 30 Décembre 1793; Louvet, p. 237.

⁴[On the Prisons, *vid. supr.*, ii. 291.]

⁵[Ronsin, one of the worst of Hébert's satellites, had been a private in the old army, then a poetaster and dramatic author: he served in the Ministry of War for a short time, and re-entered the army in 1793. When made General of the Revolutionary Army (*vid. supr.*, iii. 95) in Sept. '93 he took a part of it to La Vendée, where he played into the hands of Rossignol (*vid. supr.*, ii. 290). He was guillotined March 24th '94. Phélippeaux, the *Représentant en mission* in La Vendée, never ceased denouncing the luxury, corruption and brutality of the Paris battalions (*i.e.*, of the Revolutionary Army) employed under Rossignol; as early as July 31st he contrasts their behaviour with that of the milder *Vendéens* (Aulard, v. 432). At the end of Aug. Bourdon de l'Oise suspended Rossignol for various acts of theft from his lodgings, and for arrant cowardice in the field; but he was defended by Tallien in the Convention, and reinstated. On Jan. 7th '94 Phélippeaux again denounced Rossignol and Ronsin; but covertly alluded to the fact that Collot and Billaud were protecting them (*ibid.* x. 106, 221).]

'in red nightcap, in tricolor waistcoat, in black-shag trousers, 'black-shag spencer, with enormous moustachioes, enormous 'sabre,—in *carmagnole complète*;' ¹ and has portable guillotines. Representative Carrier has got to Nantes, by the edge of blazing La Vendée, which Rossignol has literally set on fire: Carrier will try what captives you make; what accomplices they have, Royalist or Girondin: his guillotine goes always, *va toujours*; and his wool-capped 'Company of Marat.' Little children are guillotined, and aged men. Swift as the machine is, it will not serve; the Headsman and all his valets sink, worn down with work; declare that the human muscles can no more.² Whereupon you must try fusillading; to which perhaps still frightfuller methods may succeed.

In Brest, to like purpose, rules Jean-Bon Saint-André; with an Army of Red Nightcaps. In Bourdeaux rules Tallien, with his Isabeau and henchmen; Guadets, Cussys, Salleses, many fall; the bloody Pike and Nightcap bearing supreme sway; the Guillotine coining money. Bristly fox-haired Tallien, once Able Editor, still young in years, is now become most gloomy, potent; a Pluto on Earth, and has the keys of Tartarus. One remarks, however, that a certain *Senhorina Cabarus*,³ or call her rather *Senhora* and

¹ See Louvet, p. 301. [The *Carmagnole* is a Southern name for a particular kind of long waistcoat, such as that worn by the Marseillais *Fédérés* in Aug. '92. The song beginning '*Madame Veto avait promis de faire égorger tout Paris*' got the name *Carmagnole* from the circumstances and date (Aug. 10th) in which it was composed; and the dance got the name from the song. Louvet uses the phrase in the passage cited to describe the disguise in which he made his escape from Charenton, on Feb. 7th '94, adding that it was the 'costume of all good patriots of the time.']

² *Deux Amis*, xii. 249-51. [Carrier was sent to Nantes Sept. 29th. His proconsulate has attained a fame above that of all the others not only on account of his own trial, but of that of the remnants of the 132 Nantese whom he sent in January '94 to Paris to be tried, and whose trial began in the first tide of reaction in the following September. There all the facts about Carrier came out: the history of no other proconsulate was ever quite so fully disclosed. The order constituting the 'Company of Marat' and defining its duties is printed in Campardon (ii. 50). It is dated Oct. 28th '93, and signed 'Francastel and Carrier.']

³ [Tallien had been sent to Bourdeaux in Sept. '93. Thérèse de Cabarrus, born at Saragossa 1775, was the daughter of the Spanish Minister of Finance, and had married at sixteen the Marquis de Fontenay. She was arrested at Bourdeaux, together with her husband, on her way to Spain; Tallien allowed Fontenay to escape on condition of Theresa becoming his mistress. Her return with him to Paris excited Robespierre's suspicion. She was arrested again in Paris, March 22nd '94, and no one owed her deliverance to the Revolution of Thermidor so completely as

wedded not yet widowed *Dame de Fontenai*, brown beautiful woman, daughter of Cabarus the Spanish Merchant,—has softened the red bristly countenance; pleading for herself and friends; and prevailing. The keys of Tartarus, or any kind of power, are something to a woman; gloomy Pluto himself is not insensible to love. Like a new Proserpine, she, by this red gloomy Dis, is gathered; and, they say, softens his stone heart a little.

Maignet,¹ at Orange in the South; Lebon, at Arras in the North, become world's wonders. Jacobin Popular Tribunal, with its National Representative, perhaps where Girondin Popular Tribunal had lately been, rises here and rises there; wheresoever needed. Fouchés, Maignets, Barrases, Frérons scour the Southern Departments; like reapers, with their guillotine-sickle. Many are the labourers, great is the harvest. By the hundred and the thousand, men's lives are cropt; cast like brands into the burning.

Marseilles is taken, and put under martial law: lo, at Marseilles, what one besmuted red-bearded corn-ear is this which they cut;—one gross Man, we mean, with copper-studded face; plenteous beard, or beard-stubble, of a tile-colour? By Nemesis and the Fatal Sisters, it is Jourdan Coupe-tête! Him they have clutched, in these martial-law districts; him too, with their 'national razor,' their *rasoir national*, they sternly shave away. Low now is Jourdan the Headsman's own head;—low as Deshuttés's and Varigny's, which he sent on pikes, in the Insurrection of Women! No more shall he, as a copper Portent, be seen gyrating through the Cities of the South; no more sit judging, with pipes and brandy, in the Ice-tower of Avignon. The all-hiding Earth has received him, the bloated Tilebeard: may we

she. (*See* Von Sybel, iv. 192-3.) She married Tallien on Dec. 26th '94, brought him four children, divorced him in 1802 and married the Comte de Caraman, afterwards Prince de Chimay, in 1805; she died 1835. (*See* Arsène Houssaye, *Notre Dame de Thermidor*, Paris 1867.)]

¹[Maignet 'proconsul' in the Bouches-du-Rhône and Vaucluse, had a turn at Marseilles before going to Orange; on Feb. 13th '94 he writes to apologise for the executions going on so slowly (only 13 that day); but says he has invented a plan by which the judges will be able to condemn men in batches. 'There are only 1,500 people arrested here as yet, and in a city of such a size, there *must* be more Counter-Revolutionists than that; and I am going to find them' (Aulard, *Recueil*, xi. 34): on Feb. 28th he has 'finished off 43 scoundrels who have left the Republic heir to 30 millions' (*ibid.* xi. 472).]

never look upon his like again!¹—Jourdan one names; the other Hundreds are not named. Alas, they, like confused faggots, lie massed together for us; counted by the cart-load: and yet not an individual faggot-twigg of them but had a Life and History; and was cut, not without pangs as when a Kaiser dies!

Least of all cities can Lyons escape. Lyons, which we saw in dread sunblaze, that Autumn night when the Powder-tower sprang aloft, was clearly verging towards a sad end. Inevitable: what could desperate valour and Précý do; Dubois-Crancé,² deaf as Destiny, stern as Doom, capturing their 'redoubts of cotton-bags;' hemming them in, ever closer, with his Artillery-lava? Never would that *ci-devant* D'Autichamp arrive; never any help from Blankenberg.³ The Lyons Jacobins were hidden in cellars; the Girondin Municipality waxed pale, in famine, treason and red fire. Précý drew his sword, and some Fifteen Hundred with him; sprang to saddle, to cut their way to Switzerland.⁴ They cut fiercely; and were fiercely cut, and cut down; not hundreds, hardly units of them ever saw Switzerland.⁵ Lyons, on the 9th of October, surrenders at discretion; it is become a devoted Town.

¹[May 28th '94. Poor Mignet was in sad trouble when he found that old Revolution hero Jourdan 'acting without orders at Avignon' and becoming a terror to the country, and even had to recommend his being removed from the post of *Chef d'Escadron* of National Guard (*ibid.* xi. 708; *vid. supr.*, i. 171). Jourdan was sent to Paris and brought before the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, May 27th '94, and guillotined next day.]

²[Dubois-Crancé, who had borne the brunt of the fighting before Lyons, was recalled Oct. 6th; Couthon arrived Oct. 3rd.]

³[Blankenberg, *viz.*, the castle of that name in the Duchy of Brunswick, where the Comte de Provence was then residing. Neither Forneron nor Sorel mentions Autichamp's help, and Carlyle takes it from *Deux Amis* (xi. 134), where it is expressly said Autichamp arrived in Switzerland as an agent of the Princes, to stir up the Swiss Government to help Lyons. Précý in a long letter written just after his escape does not mention it (*see Metzger, Lyon en 1793* (Lyons, n. d.)), but Balleydier (*Hist. du Peuple de Lyon pendant la Rév.* (Paris, 1845), ii. p. 79) expressly says that, early in Sept., Précý, seeing that the *modéré* cause was lost, called a council of war, and presented to it an agent of d'Artois, who had arrived that day (which day?), and who went away again charged with a particular mission.]

⁴[Oct. 9th. Précý, thinking further defence hopeless, as the outposts of the defenders were already in the hands of the Republicans, cut his way out with some 2,000 men, escaped to Piedmont, and afterwards to England. He returned to France 1810, and commanded the Royalist National Guard at Lyons 1814; died 1820.]

⁵ *Deux Amis*, xi. 145.

Abbé Lamourette, now Bishop Lamourette,¹ whilom Legislator, he of the old *Baiser-l'Amourette* or Delilah-Kiss,² is seized here; is sent to Paris to be guillotined: 'he made the sign of the cross,' they say, when Tinville intimated his death-sentence to him; and died as an eloquent Constitutional Bishop. But wo now to all Bishops, Priests, Aristocrats and Federalists that are in Lyons! The *manes* of Chalier are to be appeased; the Republic, maddened to the Sibylline pitch, has bared her right arm. Behold! Representative Fouché, it is Fouché of Nantes,³ a name to become well known; he with a Patriot company goes duly, in wondrous Procession, to raise the corpse of Chalier. An Ass housed in Priest's cloak, with a mitre on his head, and trailing the Mass-Books, some say the very Bible, at its tail, paces through Lyons streets: escorted by multitudinous Patriotism, by clangour as of the Pit; towards the grave of Martyr Chalier. The body is dug up, and burnt: the ashes are collected in an Urn; to be worshipped of Paris Patriotism. The Holy Books were part of the funeral pile; their ashes are scattered to the wind. Amid cries of "Vengeance! Vengeance!"—which, writes Fouché, shall be satisfied.⁴

Lyons in fact is a Town to be abolished; not Lyons henceforth, but '*Commune Affranchie*, Township Freed:' the very name of it shall perish.⁵ It is to be razed, this once great City, if Jacobinism prophesy right; and a Pillar to be erected on the ruins, with this Inscription, *Lyons rebelled against the Republic; Lyons is no more.* Fouché, Couthon, Collot, Convention Representatives succeed

¹[Jan. 11th.]

²[For Lamourette, *vid. supr.*, ii. 157.]

³[Joseph Fouché, born at Nantes 1754, became an Oratorian, but put off his orders in 1790, deputy for the Loire to the Convention, served on various missions, but this to Lyons was his most important one. He seems to have been driven into opposition to Robespierre as early as May '94. He was excluded from the Jacobins in June; thereupon he commenced secretly to pull the wires of the opposition, which resulted in Thermidor. Fouché's close connection with Collot involved him in some suspicion in '94--5, and he hardly resumed his public position till he had betrayed Babeuf to Barras in '97. He was then sent as ambassador to the Cisalpine, and to Holland ('98--9); and in July '99 became for the first time Minister of Police, which office he held under every successive government till 1810 (he was created Duke of Otranto in 1809). Twice more in 1815 he held the same office, but only for a short while on each occasion. In 1816 he left France, and died at Trieste 1820.]

⁴ *Moniteur* (du 17 Novembre 1793), &c.

⁵[Oct. 12th.]

one another: there is work for the hangman; work for the hammerman, *not* in building. The very Houses of Aristocrats, we say, are doomed. Paralytic Couthon, borne in a chair, taps on the wall, with emblematic mallet, saying, "*La Loi te frappe*, The Law strikes thee;"¹ masons, with wedge and crowbar, begin demolition. Crash of downfall, dim ruin and dust-clouds fly in the winter wind. Had Lyons been of soft stuff, it had all vanished in those weeks, and the Jacobin prophecy had been fulfilled. But Towns are not built of soap-froth; Lyons Town is built of stone. Lyons, though it rebelled against the Republic, *is* to this day.

Neither have the Lyons Girondins all one neck, that you could despatch it at one swoop. Revolutionary Tribunal here, and Military Commission, guillotining, fusillading, do what they can: the kennels of the Place des Terreaux run red; mangled corpses roll down the Rhône. Collot d'Herbois, they say, was once hissed on the Lyons stage: but with what sibilation, of world-catcall or hoarse Tartarean Trumpet, will ye hiss him now, in this his new character of Convention Representative,—not to be repeated! Two hundred and nine men are marched forth over the River, to be shot in mass, by musket and cannon, in the Promenade of the Brotteaux. It is the second² of such scenes; the first was of some Seventy. The corpses of the first were flung into the Rhône, but the Rhône stranded some; so these now, of the second lot, are to be buried on land. Their one long grave is dug; they stand ranked, by the loose mould-ridge; the younger of them singing the Marseillaise. Jacobin National

¹[Couthon was scolded by the *Comité de Salut Public* for not being severe enough, and a military commission of five was appointed to judge the *Lyonnais* (Aulard, *Recueil*, vii. 376). Fouché and Collot were sent on Oct. 30th; on Nov. 23rd Collot writes to Robespierre of the awful difficulty of 'regenerating' Lyons. He wishes to deport 100,000 individuals from it into the Interior of France 'where they may learn patriotism,' and admits that no one of his colleagues is bloodthirsty enough to satisfy him (*ibid.* viii. 668). Fouché however must soon have given satisfaction, for on Dec. 20th he writes, apropos of the fall of Toulon, 'with tears of joy in his eyes. . . 'we have only one method of celebrating the victory here, *viz.*, sending this evening 'two hundred and thirteen rebels to be shot in a batch.' The same day a deputation of *Lyonnais* appeared at the bar of the Convention to protest against these cruelties (*ibid.* ix. 556); but the Convention turned a deaf ear, and voted entire approval of Collot and Fouché. The destruction of the houses in the Place Bellecour began Oct. 26th, and cost 400,000 fr. per *decade*.]

²[Dec. 5th.]

Guards give fire ; but have again to give fire, and again ; and to take the bayonet and the spade, for though the doomed all fall, they do not all die ;—and it becomes a butchery too horrible for speech. So that the very Nationals, as they fire, turn away their faces. Collot, snatching the musket from one such National, and levelling it with unmoved countenance, says, “It is thus a Republican ought to fire.”

This is the second Fusillade, and happily the last : it is found too hideous ; even inconvenient. There were Two-hundred and nine marched out ; one escaped at the end of the Bridge : yet behold, when you count the corpses, they are Two-hundred and ten. Rede us this riddle, O Collot ? After long guessing, it is called to mind that two individuals, here in the Brotteaux ground, did attempt to leave the rank, protesting with agony that they were not condemned men, that they were Police Commissaries : which two we repulsed, and disbelieved, and shot with the rest !¹ Such is the vengeance of an enraged Republic. Surely this, according to Barrère’s phrase, is Justice “under rough forms, *sous des formes acerbes*.” But the Republic, as Fouché says, must “march to Liberty over corpses.” Or again, as Barrère has it : “None but the dead do not come back,² *Il n’y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas*.” Terror hovers far and wide : ‘The Guillotine goes not ill.’

But before quitting those Southern regions, over which History can cast only glances from aloft, she will alight for a moment, and look fixedly at one point : the Siege of Toulon. Much battering and bombarding, heating of balls in furnaces or farm-houses,

¹ Deux Amis, xii. 251-62. [The first *fusillade* or *mitraille* took place Dec. 4th, when 64 were killed ; the second Dec. 5th, when 209 were killed ; the third Dec. 8th, when 68 were killed. No more dates are given, but from Dec. 4th to April '94, 1,682 persons were put to death at Lyons. (Balleydier, Hist. du peuple de Lyon, vol. i. p. 253, *sqq.*)]

²[This remark of Barère occurs in a speech of his in the Convention on May 28th '94. It is not applied to the victims of the Revolution, but to the English soldiers, whom, he says, Houchard ought to have exterminated after raising the siege of Dunkirk ; ‘then England would not have come back this year to insult our frontiers : it is only the dead who return not ; but Kings and their slaves are incorrigible and they must disappear’ (*i.e.*, presumably no prisoners must be made) ‘if you wish a durable peace and the maintenance of your liberty.’ (See 1 *isodes et Curiosités Rév.* par L. Combes, Paris, 1872.)]

serving of artillery well and ill, attacking of Ollioules Passes, Forts Malbosquet, there has been : as yet to small purpose. We have had General Cartaux¹ here, a whilom Painter elevated in the troubles of Marseilles ; General Doppet, a whilom Medical man elevated in the troubles of Piemont, who, under Crancé, took Lyons, but cannot take Toulon. Finally we have General Dugommier, a pupil of Washington.² Convention *Représentans* also we have had ; Barrases, Salicettis, Robespierres the Younger : —also an Artillery *Chef de brigade*, of extreme diligence, who often takes his nap of sleep among the guns ;³ a short, taciturn, olive-complexioned young man, not unknown to us, by name Buonaparte ; one of the best Artillery-officers yet met with. And still Toulon is not taken. It is the fourth month now ; December in slave-style ; *Frostarious* or *Frimaire*, in new-style : and still their cursed Red-Blue Flag flies there. They are provisioned from the Sea ; they have seized all heights, felling wood, and fortifying themselves ; like the coney, they have built their nest in the rocks.

Meanwhile, *Frostarious* is not yet become *Snowous* or *Nivose*, when a Council of War is called ; Instructions have just arrived from Government and *Salut Public*. Carnot, in *Salut Public*, has sent us a plan of siege : on which plan General Dugommier has this criticism to make, Commissioner Salicetti has that ; and criticisms and plans are very various ; when that young Artillery-Officer ventures to speak ; the same whom we saw snatching

¹[Carteaux had about 4,000 men when he began to advance against Toulon : he was joined by another division of the Army of Italy under La Poype, with whom were Barras and Fréron ; but nothing very serious could be attempted till the fall of Lyons (Oct. 9th) ; Carteaux was then replaced by Doppet, and he by Dugommier, who at the time got the principal credit of the final success.]

²[I can find no reason for calling Dugommier a 'pupil of Washington.' He was born at Guadaloupe 1738, and served in the Seven Years' War, both in Europe and West Indies ; during the American War he vainly solicited employment, as he had retired in 1763 and was living on his plantation in Guadaloupe. See *Guadaloupe, Ses enfants célèbres*—Dugommier, by Vauchelet (Montreuil, 1899).]

³[Napoleon was not Major (as Carlyle several times calls him), but Captain (*capitaine en premier*, 8th March '93) in the 4th Regiment of Artillery ; on Sept. 26th Salicetti, one of the Convention Commissioners employed before Toulon, writes that Citizen Buonaparte, *capitaine instruit*, has been appointed to command the Artillery in the place of Dommartin (who had been wounded. Napoleon was then on his way to join the Army of Italy. (Aulard, *Recueil*, vii. 79.) He reached Toulon Sept. 16th.]

sleep among the guns, who has emerged several times in this History,—the name of him Napoleon Buonaparte. It is his humble opinion, for he has been gliding about with spy-glasses, with thoughts, That a certain Fort l'Éguillette can be clutched, as with lion-spring, on the sudden; wherefrom, were it once ours, the very heart of Toulon might be battered; the English Lines were, so to speak, turned inside out, and Hood and our Natural Enemies must next day either put to sea, or be burnt to ashes. Commissioners arch their eyebrows, with negatory sniff: who is this young gentleman with more wit than we all? Brave veteran Dugommier, however, thinks the idea worth a word; questions the young gentleman; becomes convinced; and there is for issue, Try it.

On the taciturn bronze-countenance therefore, things being now all ready, there sits a grimmer gravity than ever, compressing a hotter central-fire than ever. Yonder, thou seest, is Fort l'Éguillette; a desperate lion-spring, yet a possible one; this day to be tried!—Tried it is; and found *good*. By stratagem and valour, stealing through ravines, plunging fiery through the fire-tempest, Fort l'Éguillette is clutched at, is carried; the smoke having cleared, we see the Tricolor fly on it: the bronze-complexioned young man was right. Next morning, Hood, finding the interior of his lines exposed, his defences turned inside out, makes for his shipping. Taking such Royalists as wished it on board with him, he weighs anchor; on this 19th of December 1793, Toulon is once more the Republic's!

Cannonading has ceased at Toulon; and now the guillotining and fusillading may begin. Civil horrors, truly: but at least that infamy of an English domination is purged away.¹ Let there be Civic Feast universally over France: so reports Barrère, or Painter David; and the Convention assist in a body.² Nay, it is said,

¹["Here we are shooting rebels in force . . . all the naval officers have already been shot . . . the Republic shall be avenged in a manner worthy of it." (The irony of this phrase seems to be unconscious: see the letter of the proconsuls at Toulon to the Committee; Aulard, *Recueil*, ix. 559, Dec. 20th. A few days later they write '800 have already been put to death;' *ibid.* x. 79.)]

² *Moniteur*, 1793, Nos. 101 (31 Décembre), 95, 96, 98, &c.

these infamous English (with an attention rather to their own interests than to ours) set fire to our store-houses, arsenals, war-ships in Toulon Harbour, before weighing; some score of brave war-ships, the only ones we now had! However, it did not prosper, though the flame spread far and high; some two ships were burned, not more; the very galley-slaves ran with buckets to quench. These same proud Ships, Ship *l'Orient* and the rest, have to carry this same young Man to Egypt first: not yet can they be changed to ashes, or to Sea-Nymphs; not yet to sky-rockets, O ship *l'Orient*; nor become the prey of England,—before their time!¹

And so, over France universally, there is Civic Feast and high-tide: and Toulon sees fusillading, grapeshotting in mass, as Lyons saw; and 'death is poured out in great floods, *vomie à grands flots*;' and Twelve-thousand Masons are requisitioned from the neighbouring country, to raze Toulon from the face of the Earth. For it is to be razed, so reports Barrère; all but the National Shipping Establishments; and to be called henceforth, not Toulon, but *Port of the Mountain*. There in black death-cloud we must leave it;—hoping only that Toulon too is built of stone; that perhaps even Twelve-thousand Masons cannot pull it down, till the fit pass.

One begins to be sick of 'death vomited in great floods.' Nevertheless, hearest thou not, O Reader (for the sound reaches through centuries), in the dead December and January nights, over Nantes Town,—confused noises, as of musketry and tumult, as of rage and lamentation; mingling with the everlasting moan of the Loire waters there? Nantes Town is sunk in sleep; but *Représentant* Carrier is not sleeping, the wool-capped Company of Marat is not sleeping. Why unmoors that flatbottomed craft, that *gabarre*; about eleven at night; with Ninety Priests under hatches? They are going to Belle Isle? In the middle of the Loire stream, on signal given, the *gabarre* is scuttled; she sinks with all her cargo. 'Sentence of Deportation,' writes Carrier,

¹['They' (the English) on Dec. 18th 'blew up the *Thémistocle*, burnt nine and towed away three ships of war, leaving 15 uninjured' (Aulard, *Recueil*, ix. 557).]

'was executed *vertically*.' The Ninety Priests, with their gabarre-coffin, lie deep! It is the first of the *Noyades*, what we may call *Drownages*, of Carrier; which have become famous forever.¹

Guillotining there was at Nantes, till the Headsman sank worn out: then fusillading 'in the Plain of Saint-Mauve;' ² little children fusilladed, and women with children at the breast; children and women, by the hundred and twenty; and by the five hundred, so hot is La Vendée: till the very Jacobins grew sick, and all but the Company of Marat cried, Hold! Wherefore now we have got Noyading; and on the 24th night of *Frostarious* year 2, which is 14th of December 1793, we have a second Noyade; consisting of 'a Hundred and Thirty-eight persons.'³

Or why waste a gabarre, sinking it with them? Fling them out; fling them out, with their hands tied: pour a continual hail of lead over all the space, till the last struggler of them be sunk! Unsound sleepers of Nantes, and the Sea-Villages thereabouts, hear the musketry amid the night-winds; wonder what the meaning of it is. And women were in that gabarre; whom the Red Nightcaps were stripping naked; who begged, in their agony, that their smocks might not be stript from them. And young children were thrown in, their mothers vainly pleading: "Wolfings," answered the Company of Marat, "who would grow to be wolves."

By degrees, daylight itself witnesses Noyades: women and men are tied together, feet and feet, hands and hands; and flung in:⁴ this they call *Mariage Républicain*, Republican Marriage.

¹[Carrier's idea was not original. Legendre had suggested it at the Jacobin Club as far back as May '92; see Biré, *Légende* (quoting journal of the Jacobins May 15th '92), p. 78. There seem to have been many *Noyades*—usually at night—the first one, Nov. 16th '93 (90 priests); the second, Dec. 9th (58 priests); the third, Dec. 14th (130 persons); no exact dates are given for the rest, but on one occasion as many as 800 were drowned. (See Guépin, *Hist. de Nantes* (1839), p. 460 *sqq.*)

Carrier in his letter to the *Comité de Salut Public*, Nov. 17th, describing the first *Noyade* seems almost to pretend that it was an accident. "An event of another kind has just diminished the number of priests. . . . Ninety of them were shut up in a boat in the Loire, and I have just learned that they have all been drowned." (Aulard, *Recueil*, viii. 505.)

²[*Vis.*, La Prairie de Mauves.]

³*Deux Amis*, xii. 266-72; *Moniteur*, du 2 Janvier 1794.

⁴[The evidence for this and other horrors is given in the trial of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes. (Campardon, ii. 42, *sqq.*)]

Cruel is the panther of the woods, the she-bear bereaved of her whelps: but there is in man a hatred crueller than that. Dumb, out of suffering now, as pale swoln corpses, the victims tumble confusedly seaward along the Loire stream; the tide rolling them back: clouds of ravens darken the River; wolves prowl on the shoal-places: Carrier writes, '*Quel torrent révolutionnaire, What a torrent of Revolution!*'¹ For the man is rabid; and the Time is rabid. These are the Noyades of Carrier; twenty-five by the tale, for what is done in darkness comes to be investigated in sunlight:² not to be forgotten for centuries.—We will turn to another aspect of the Consummation of Sansculottism; leaving this as the blackest.

But indeed men are all rabid; as the Time is. Representative Lebon, at Arras, dashes his sword into the blood flowing from the Guillotine; exclaims, "How I like it!" Mothers, they say, by his order, have to stand by while the Guillotine devours their children: a band of music is stationed near; and, at the fall of every head, strikes up its *Ça-ira*.³ In the Burgh of Bedouin, in the Orange region, the Liberty-tree has been cut down overnight. Representative Maignet, at Orange, hears of it; burns Bedouin Burgh to the last dog-hutch; guillotines the inhabitants, or drives them into the caves and hills.⁴ Republic one and Indivisible! She is the newest Birth of Nature's waste inorganic Deep, which men name Orcus, Chaos, primeval Night; and knows one law, that of self-preservation. *Tigresse Nationale*: meddle

¹[The words actually occur in a letter of Carrier to the Committee (Aulard, ix. 316): on Feb. 8th '94 the Committee became alarmed at Carrier's methods, "which cause the national authority not to be loved," and he was scolded; and, when a little later he maltreated Robespierre's pet spy Jullien, his recall was ordered (*ibid.* x. 777), but he did not come: fresh hints against too great severity were gently given in March (xi. 571).]

²Procès de Carrier (4 tomes, Paris, 1795).

³Les Horreurs des Prisons d'Arras (Paris, 1823). [I have been unable to identify any separate edition of this work, but it is printed in vol. ii. of *Mém. sur les Prisons*, p. 335 *seqq.* The Arras story is by 'Citoyens Poirier and Mongey;' Lebon's massacres did not begin till Jan. '94. I do not however find in this pamphlet the quotation Carlyle gives about Lebon and his sword, which comes from Prudhomme (vi. 380). I suspect that Carlyle, while working through the *Mém. sur les Prisons*, often touched them up with a few of Prudhomme's least traceable but most picturesque lies.]

⁴Montgaillard, iv. 200.

not with a whisker of her! Swift-rendering is her stroke; look what a paw she spreads;—pity has not entered into her heart.

Prudhomme, the dull-blustering Printer and Able Editor, as yet a Jacobin Editor, will become a renegade one, and publish large volumes, on these matters, *Crimes of the Revolution*; adding innumerable lies withal, as if the truth were not sufficient. We, for our part, find it more edifying to know, one good time, that this Republic and National Tigress *is* a New-Birth; a Fact of Nature among Formulas, in an Age of Formulas; and to look, oftenest in silence, how the so genuine Nature-Fact will demean itself among these. For the Formulas are partly genuine, partly delusive, supposititious: we call them, in the language of metaphor, regulated modelled *shapes*; some of which have bodies and life still in them; most of which, according to a German Writer, have only emptiness, ‘glass-eyes glaring on you with a ghastly affectation of life, and in their interior unclean accumulation of ‘beetles and spiders!’ But the Fact, let all men observe, is a genuine and sincere one; the sincerest of Facts; terrible in its sincerity, as very Death. Whatsoever is equally sincere may front it, and beard it; but whatsoever is *not*?—

CHAPTER IV

CARMAGNOLE COMPLETE

SIMULTANEOUSLY with this Tophet-black aspect, there unfolds itself another aspect, which one may call a Tophet-red aspect, the Destruction of the Catholic Religion; and indeed, for the time being, of Religion itself. We saw Romme’s New Calendar establish its *Tenth Day of Rest*; and asked, what would become of the Christian Sabbath? The Calendar is hardly a month old, till all this is set at rest. Very singular, as Mercier observes: last *Corpus-Christi Day* 1792, the whole world, and Sovereign Authority itself, walked in religious gala, with a quite devout air;—Butcher Legendre, supposed to be irreverent, was like to be massacred in his Gig, as the thing went by. A Gallican Hierarchy, and Church, and Church Formulas seemed to flourish, a little brown-leaved or so,

but not browner than of late years or decades ; to flourish far and wide, in the sympathies of an unsophisticated People ; defying Philosophism, Legislature and the Encyclopédie. Far and wide, alas, like a brown-leaved Vallombrosa : which waits but one whirlblast of the November wind, and in an hour stands bare ! Since that *Corpus-Christi* Day, Brunswick has come, and the Emigrants, and La Vendée, and eighteen months of Time : to all flourishing, especially to brown-leaved flourishing, there comes, were it never so slowly, an end.¹

On the 7th of November, a certain Citoyen Parens, Curate of Boissise-le-Bertrand, writes to the Convention that he has all his life been preaching a lie, and is grown weary of doing it ; wherefore he will now lay down his Curacy and stipend, and begs that an august Convention would give him something else to live upon. ‘*Mention honorable,*’ shall we give him ? Or ‘reference to Committee of Finances ?’ Hardly is this got decided, when goose Gobel, Constitutional Bishop of Paris, with his Chapter, with Municipal and Departmental escort in red nightcaps, makes his appearance, to do as Parens has done.² Goose Gobel will now acknowledge ‘no Religion but Liberty ;’ therefore he doffs his Priest-gear, and receives the Fraternal embrace. To the joy of Departmental Momoro, of Municipal Chaumettes and Héberts, of Vincent and the Revolutionary Army ! Chaumette asks, Ought there not, in these circumstances, to be among our intercalary Days Sans-breeches, a Feast of Reason ?³ Proper surely ! Let Atheist Maréchal, Lalande, and little Atheist Nageon rejoice ;⁴ let Cloutz, Speaker of Mankind, present to the Convention⁵ his

¹[*Fête-Dieu* was however celebrated in 1793, and reverently by the respectable classes in Paris (see Dutard to Garat, in Schmidt, i. 347), but there was no official recognition of it, and Dutard writes on June 6th that the *bourgeoisie* were very angry at this. “The people *will* have their religious festivals : you ought to *make a religion* ; Chaumette understands the value of this.” Chaumette apparently acted on the hint in the following November.]

²[Nov. 7th.]

³Moniteur, Séance du 17 Brumaire (7th November), 1793.

⁴[For Maréchal, *vid. supr.*, iii. 85. Lalande was an astronomer, rather mad, who is supposed to have been in the habit of eating live spiders, and a collaborator of Maréchal in the ‘*Dictionnaire des Athées*’. Nageon was the editor of Diderot’s works and author of ‘*La Théologie portative*’ (1768).]

⁵[Nov. 17th.]

Evidences of the Mahometan Religion,¹ a work evincing the nullity of all Religions,—with thanks. There shall be Universal Republic now, thinks Cloutz; and ‘one God only, *Le Peuple*.’

The French Nation is of gregarious imitative nature; it needed but a fogle-motion in this matter; and goose Gobel, driven by Municipality and force of circumstances, has given one. What Curé will be behind him of Boissise; what Bishop behind him of Paris? Bishop Grégoire, indeed, courageously declines; to the sound of “We force no one; let Grégoire consult his conscience;” but Protestant and Romish by the hundred volunteer and assent.² From far and near, all through November into December, till the work is accomplished, come Letters of renegation, come Curates who ‘are learning to be Carpenters,’ Curates with their new-wedded Nuns: has not the day of Reason dawned, very swiftly, and become noon? From sequestered Townships come Addresses, stating plainly, though in Patois dialect, That ‘they will have no more to do with the black animal called Curay, *animal noir appelé Curay*.’³

Above all things, there come Patriotic Gifts, of Church-furniture. The remnant of bells, except for tocsin, descend from their belfries, into the National meltingpot to make cannon. Censers and all sacred vessels are beaten broad; of silver, they are fit for the poverty-stricken Mint; of pewter, let them become bullets, to shoot the ‘*ennemis du genre humain*.’ Dalmatics of plush make breeches for him who had none; linen stoles will clip into shirts for the Defenders of the Country: old-clothesmen, Jew or Heathen, drive the briskest trade. Chalier’s Ass-procession, at Lyons, was but a type of what went on, in those same days, in all

¹ [‘*La Certitude des preuves du Mahométisme*’ was published in 1780.]

² [Laloi, the President of the Convention on the 7th, gave a doubtful answer to the Gobel-Chaumette movement, but Thomas Lindet, ‘Constitutional Bishop’ of Evreux and two more ‘Bishops,’ several ‘priests’ and one Protestant pastor, being members of Convention, at once followed Gobel’s example. Grégoire only entered while these abdications were going on, and at once spoke out (*Moniteur* in *loc. cit.*): Sieyès abjured on Nov. 10th, not his priestly office, for he had given that up long ago, but his faith (Dauban, 304).]

³ *Analyse du Moniteur* (Paris, 1801), ii. 280. [This is a wrong reference, nor can I find anywhere among the numerous petitions of *Communes*, given in the *Moniteur* itself, anything of the kind. The petition most likely to contain it is that of Clamars, Nov. 18th.]

Towns. In all Towns and Townships as quick as the guillotine may go, so quick goes the axe and the wrench: sacristies, lutrins, altar-rails are pulled down; the Mass-Books torn into cartridge-papers: men dance the Carmagnole all night about the bonfire. All highways jingle with metallic Priest-tackle, beaten broad; sent to the Convention, to the poverty stricken Mint. Good Sainte Geneviève's¹ *Chasse* is let down: alas, to be burst open, this time, and burnt on the Place de Grève. Saint Louis's Shirt is burnt;—might not a Defender of the Country have had it? At Saint-Denis Town, no longer Saint-Denis but *Franciade*, Patriotism has been down among the Tombs, rummaging;² the Revolutionary Army has taken spoil. This, accordingly, is what the streets of Paris saw:

'Most of these persons were still drunk, with the brandy they had swallowed out of chalices;—eating mackerel on the patenas! Mounted on Asses, which were housed with Priests' cloaks, they reined them with Priests' stoles; they held clutched with the same hand communion-cup and sacred wafer. They stopped at the doors of Dramshops; held out ciboriums: and the landlord, stoop in hand, had to fill them thrice. Next came Mules high-laden with crosses, chandeliers, censers, holy-water vessels, hysops;—recalling to mind the Priests of Cybele, whose panniers, filled with the instruments of their worship, served at once as storehouse, sacristy and temple. In such equipage did these profaners advance towards the Convention. They enter there, in an immense train, ranged in two rows; all masked like mummies in fantastic sacerdotal vestments; bearing on hand-barrows their heaped plunder,—ciboriums, suns, candelabras, plates of gold and silver.'³

¹[Nov. 7th. The Church of Sainte-Geneviève, patron saint of Paris, who died in 512, is not to be confused with the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève beside Saint-Etienne du Mont; it dated from the 12th century. Her relics were enclosed in a magnificent shrine and were now taken down and burnt on the *Place de Grève*, the gold work of the shrine melted down: the church was destroyed in 1807.]

²[On Aug. 1st '93 the Convention decreed the destruction of the Royal Tombs at Saint-Denis within eight days: the bodies were to be thrown into a common grave: on Oct. 12th—25th the destruction was carried out by a Paris mob, not without protest from the inhabitants of Saint-Denis: Henri IV.'s body was found almost entire.]

³Mercier, iv. 134. See *Moniteur*, Séance du 10 Novembre.

The Address we do not give; for indeed it was in strophes, sung *vivâ voce*, with all the parts;—Danton glooming considerably, in his place;¹ and demanding that there be prose and decency in future.² Nevertheless the captors of such *spolia opima* crave, not untouched with liquor, permission to dance the Carmagnole also on the spot: whereto an exhilarated Convention cannot but accede. Nay 'several Members,' continues the exaggerative Mercier, who was not there to witness, being in Limbo now, as one of Duperret's *Seventy-three*, 'several Members, quitting their curule 'chairs, took the hand of girls flaunting in Priests' vestures, and 'danced the Carmagnole along with them.' Such Old-Hallowtide have they, in this year, once named of Grace 1793.

Out of which strange fall of Formulas, tumbling there in confused welter, betrampled by the Patriotic dance, is it not passing strange to see a *new* Formula arise? For the human tongue is not adequate to speak what 'triviality run distracted' there is in human nature. Black Mumbo-Jumbo of the woods, and most Indian Wau-waus, one can understand: but this of Procureur *Anaxagoras*, whilom John-Peter, Chaumette? We will say only: Man is a born idol-worshipper, *sight-worshipper*, so sensuous-imaginative is he; and also partakes much of the nature of the ape.

For the same day,³ while this brave Carmagnole-dance has

¹[Nov. 26th.]

²See also *Moniteur*, Séance du 26 Nov. [Robespierre also 'gloomed,' and before Danton, *e.g.*, in his report on the State of the Nation, Nov. 17th; and at the Jacobins on Nov. 21st he denounced the whole Atheistical movement. This union of Danton and Robespierre led to the *first* arrest of the Hébertist 'tail' (Vincent, Ronsin, etc.) on Dec. 17th. But Robespierre wavered, and Collot, returning from Lyons on Dec. 20th, made a temporary alliance with the Hébertists and procured their release (*vid. infr.* iii. 169). The Committee as a whole were decidedly averse to the worship of Reason; they had subsidised *Père Duchesne* (5,400 fr. a month), just as they subsidised the Jacobin Club (100,000 fr. a month), but they prohibited a piece by Léonard Bourdon called *Le Tombeau des Imposteurs*, Dec. 22nd. (Aulard, *Recueil*, viii. 389, 432; ix. 582.)]

³[The chronology is all wrong: the *Fête* of Reason on Nov. 10th preceded by 16 days the protest of Danton against these disgraceful scenes in the Convention recorded above. The name of the Goddess of Reason on 10th is variously given as Mdlle Aubry (Stephens' *Orators*, ii. 267), Mdlle Maillard (Martin, ii. 150; Dauban, p. 505), and by Carlyle here as Mdlle Candeille; Challamel in the '*Dictionnaire de la Rév.*' speaks (in two different places) both of Mdlle Aubry and Mdlle Maillard as having been the Goddess of Reason on this occasion: Carlyle's authority, Mercier, was in prison at the time.]

hardly jiggged itself out, there arrive Procureur Chaumette and Municipals and Departmentals,¹ and with them the strangest freightage: a New Religion! Demoiselle Candaille, of the Opera; a woman fair to look upon, when well rouged; she, borne on palanquin shoulderhigh; with red woollen nightcap; in azure mantle; garlanded with oak; holding in her hand the Pike of the Jupiter-*Peuple*, sails in: heralded by white young women girt in tricolor. Let the world consider it! This, O National Convention wonder of the universe, is our New Divinity; *Goddess of Reason*, worthy, and alone worthy of revering. Her henceforth we adore. Nay, were it too much to ask of an august National Representation that it also went with us to the *ci-devant* Cathedral called of Notre-Dame, and executed a few strophes in worship of her?

President and Secretaries give Goddess Candaille, borne at due height round their platform, successively the Fraternal kiss; whereupon she, by decree, sails to the right-hand of the President and there alights. And now, after due pause and flourishes of oratory, the Convention, gathering its limbs, does get under way in the required procession towards Notre-Dame; ²—Reason, again in her litter, sitting in the van of them, borne, as one judges, by men in the Roman costume; escorted by wind-music, red night-caps, and the madness of the world. And so, straightway, Reason taking seat on the high-altar of Notre-Dame, the requisite worship or quasi-worship is, say the Newspapers, *executed*; National Convention chanting ‘the *Hymn to Liberty*, words by Chénier,³ music by Gossec.’ It is the first of the *Feasts of Reason*; first communion-service of the New Religion of Chaumette.

‘The corresponding Festival in the Church of Saint-Eustache,’

¹[Nov. 10th.]

²[It was on the motion of Thuriot that the Convention decided to go to *Notre-Dame* to chant the hymn: only a few out of the small number of members actually present went. Grégoire protested again, but there was no debate in the Convention, Thuriot’s motion being carried by acclamation. (Rev. de la Rév. vi. 91.)]

³[*I.e.*, Marie-Joseph (not André) Chénier: the words of the hymn (which is a very beautiful one) are printed in Dauban, pp. 508-9. It begins:

Descends ô Liberté! fille de la Nature,
Le peuple a reconquis son pouvoir immortel;
Sur le pompeux débris de l’antique imposture
Ses mains relèvent ton autel.]

says Mercier, 'offered the spectacle of a great tavern. The interior of the choir represented a landscape decorated with cottages and boskets of trees. Round the choir stood tables overloaded with bottles, with sausages, pork-puddings, pastries and other meats. The guests flowed in and out through all doors: whosoever presented himself took part of the good things: children of eight, girls as well as boys, put hand to plate, in sign of Liberty; they drank also of the bottles, and their prompt intoxication created laughter. Reason sat in azure mantle aloft, in a serene manner, Cannoneers, pipe in mouth, serving her as acolytes. And out of doors,' continues the exaggerative man, 'were mad multitudes dancing round the bonfire of Chapel-balustrades, of Priests' and Canons' stalls; and the dancers,—I exaggerate nothing,—the dancers nigh bare of breeches, neck and breast naked, stockings down, went whirling and spinning, like those Dust-vortexes, forerunners of Tempest and Destruction.'¹ At Saint-Gervais Church, again, there was a terrible 'smell of herrings;' Section or Municipality having provided no food, no condiment, but left it to chance. Other mysteries, seemingly of a Cabiric or even Paphian character, we leave under the Veil, which appropriately stretches itself 'along the pillars of the aisles,'—not to be lifted aside by the hand of History.

But there is one thing we should like almost better to understand than any other: what Reason herself thought of it, all the while. What articulate words poor Mrs. Momoro, for example, uttered; when she had become ungoddessed again, and the Biblioplist and she sat quiet at home, at supper? For he was an earnest man, Bookseller Momoro; and had notions of Agrarian Law. Mrs. Momoro, it is admitted, made one of the best Goddesses of Reason; though her teeth were a little defective.—And now if the Reader will represent to himself that such visible Adoration of Reason went on 'all over the Republic,' through these November and December weeks, till the Church woodwork was burnt out, and the business otherwise completed,

¹ Mercier, iv. 127-146. [Mercier in prison at the time.]

he will perhaps feel sufficiently what an adoring Republic it was, and without reluctance quit this part of the subject.¹

Such gifts of Church-spoil are chiefly the work of the *Armée Révolutionnaire*; raised, as we said, some time ago. It is an army with portable guillotine: commanded by Playwright Ronsin in terrible moustachioes; and even by some uncertain shadow of Usher Maillard, the old Bastille Hero, Leader of the Menads, September Man in Gray! Clerk Vincent of the War-Office, one of Pache's old Clerks, 'with a head heated by the ancient orators,' had a main hand in the appointments, at least in the staff-appointments.²

But of the marchings and retreatings of these Six-thousand no Xenophon exists. Nothing, but an inarticulate hum, of cursing, and sooty frenzy, surviving dubious in the memory of ages! They scour the country round Paris; seeking Prisoners; raising Requisitions; seeing that Edicts are executed, that the Farmers have thrashed sufficiently; lowering Church-bells or metallic Virgins. Detachments shoot forth dim, towards remote parts of France; nay new Provincial Revolutionary Armies rise dim, here and there, as Carrier's Company of Marat, as Tallien's Bourdeaux Troop; like sympathetic clouds in an atmosphere all electric. Ronsin, they say, admitted, in candid moments, that his troops

¹[The organisation of the ceremonies in honour of 'Reason' was energetically pushed on by the *Commune*: on Nov. 24th it ordered all the churches of Paris to be closed, and priests to be held responsible for any troubles which might ensue: every one demanding the opening of a church to be treated as a suspect; and a petition was presented to the Convention to exclude all priests from public functions. The Convention took no notice of this petition, and looked coldly on the whole thing; yet within 20 days 2,436 churches in France were turned into 'Temples of Reason.' It depended on the views of the various *Représentants en mission* whether or no the people in the provinces were forced to dance to this tune. Aulard's *Recueil* teems with letters from them on the subject, seldom answered by the Committee. (See also *Rév. Fr.* xxxi. 9; *Rev. de la Rév.* vi. 91, *sqq.*) Among the minor results of the movement it is worth while to notice the certificate of value given by Hébert to the Christian Religion: 'I declare,' said he, 'that in my newspaper, *Père Duchesne*, I preach that one ought to read the Gospel. This moral book appears to me excellent, and one must follow its maxims if one is to be a good Jacobin. Christ 'seems to me to be the founder of popular societies' (Dec. 11th). This was of course a mere sop to Robespierre (see *Rév. Fr.* xxxi. 44-5).]

²[We gather that bands of ruffians went about France on their own business, calling themselves *Armées Révolutionnaires*, from the fact that on Dec. 17th '93 the Convention issued a decree which disbands all such unauthorised 'armies' under pain of death.]

were the elixir of the Rascality of the Earth. One sees them drawn up in market-places; travel-splashed, rough-bearded, in *carmagnole complète*: the first exploit is to prostrate what Royal or Ecclesiastical monument, crucifix or the like, there may be: to plant a cannon at the steeple; fetch down the bell without climbing for it, bell and belfry together. This, however, it is said, depends somewhat on the size of the town: if the town contains much population, and these perhaps of a dubious choleric aspect, the Revolutionary Army will do its work gently, by ladder and wrench; nay perhaps will take its billet without work at all; and, refreshing itself with a little liquor and sleep, pass on to the next stage.¹ Pipe in cheek, sabre on thigh; in *Carmagnole complète*!

Such things have been; and may again be. Charles Second sent out his Highland Host over the Western Scotch Whigs; Jamaica Planters got Dogs from the Spanish Main to hunt their Maroons with: France too is bescoured with a Devil's Pack, the baying of which, at this distance of half a century, still sounds in the mind's ear.

¹ *Deux Amis*, xii. 62-5. [*E.g.*, at Auxerre they did nothing because one brave man threatened to shoot the first man of them 'who even frowned.' (*Deux Amis* in *loc. cit.*)]

[By a decree of Sept. 18th '93 all the salaries of clergy above the rank of *Curés* were reduced and called 'pensions,' because, in the words of Cambon, it would not do to let them pose as functionaries of the State. On Nov. 6th the Convention decreed that any *Commune* wishing to get rid of its *Curé* might do so. Then came the abdications described by Carlyle: on Nov. 11th the Convention voted pensions to all abdicating 'priests,' and authorised all constituted authorities to receive such abdications. This is what M. Aulard (*Rév. Fr.* xxx. 492) calls "establishing complete liberty of worship." Rather it was a deliberate attempt to deatheoliticise France. No law was passed enjoining the continuance of salaries to non-abdicating 'priests,' in spite of a strong remonstrance from Danton (Nov. 26th, *see* Stephens' *Orators*, ii. 265): and as the salaries were supposed to be paid by the departmental authorities they were practically not paid at all. Cambon in a speech, Sept. 18th '94, admits this fact, and adds that most of the churches were shut after Nov. '93. At that date (Sept. '94) the Convention refused any longer to recognise any form of religion, but promised to pay pensions to all 'priests,' abdicated or not, who had been in service before that date, and this was confirmed by the law of Feb. 21st '95.

Carnot, himself a fierce and rather gloomy Republican, had long ago seen to what all this was tending; he speaks on Jan. 12th '93 (*Corresp.* i. 342) of the new spirit 'as a new set of prejudices which will soon take the place of the old; one sees 'citizens who pride themselves on their intolerance and sternness, who treat as 'enemies of the Revolution all those who find friendship or domesticity attractive'. . . who instruct their children to judge of a man's patriotism only by the terror he 'inspires. . . a disastrous impression which will soon make the French a nation of

'savages.' The Ape, however, was never far from the Tiger in the Revolutionist; the Convention on Jan. 14th '94 had to listen to, and make honourable mention of, a letter from one Ehrmann to the effect that 'he once loved a young Republicaness, 'who married some one else; and as she didn't think it right under the circumstances to keep a watch and chain which he had given her, he begged to offer them 'as a wedding gift to the most constant and faithful of all mistresses, the French 'Republic.' (Aulard, *Recueil*, x. 251.) Note also the solemn execution by a police commissary of the dog of M. de Saint-Prix, as an accomplice of his master, who had been condemned for correspondence with Émigrés, Nov. 17th '93 (Campardon, i. 186-7).]

CHAPTER V

LIKE A THUNDER-CLOUD

BUT the grand, and indeed substantially primary and generic aspect of the Consummation of Terror remains still to be looked at; nay blinkard History has for most part all but overlooked this aspect, the soul of the whole; that which makes it terrible to the Enemies of France. Let Despotism and Cimmerian Coalitions consider. All French men and French things are in a State of Requisition; Fourteen Armies are got on foot; Patriotism, with all that it has of faculty in heart or in head, in soul or body or breeches-pocket, is rushing to the Frontiers, to prevail or die! Busy sits Carnot, in *Salut Public*; busy, for his share, in 'organising victory.' Not swifter pulses that Guillotine, in dread systole-diastole in the Place de la Révolution, than smites the Sword of Patriotism, smiting Cimmeria back to its own borders, from the sacred soil.

In fact, the Government is what we can call Revolutionary; and some men are '*à la hauteur*,' on a level with the circumstances; and others are not *à la hauteur*,—so much the worse for them. But the Anarchy, we may say, has *organised* itself: Society is literally overset; its old forces working with mad activity, but in the inverse order; destructive and self-destructive.¹

¹[The most potent agent of despotism and centralisation yet contrived was the celebrated 'Law of the 14th Frimaire' (Dec. 4th): it was the first stroke of power of the Committee against the *Commune*. The discussion on it had lasted since Billaud's first proposal of it on Nov. 21st, and on Dec. 4th it was carried.

(i.) It created the *Bulletin des Lois*, a daily publication which has gone on ever since (the mere publication of a law in this *Bulletin* now gives that law validity).

(ii.) It created the *Agents Nationaux*, as direct delegates of the two great Committees, to replace the local authorities (*Procureurs* and *Conseils Généraux* of Departments, which were suppressed).

(iii.) It put all remaining constituted authorities directly under the two great Committees.

Curious to see how all still refers itself to some head and fountain; not even an Anarchy but must have a centre to revolve round. It is now some six months since the Committee of *Salut Public* came into existence; some three months since Danton proposed that all power should be given it, and 'a sum of fifty millions,' and the 'Government be declared Revolutionary.' He himself, since that day, would take no hand in it, though again and again solicited; but sits private in his place on the Mountain. Since that day, the Nine, or if they should even rise to Twelve, have become permanent, always re-elected when their term runs out; *Salut Public*, *Sûreté Générale* have assumed their ulterior form and mode of operating.

(iv.) It compelled the Revolutionary Committee of Sections of Paris to correspond directly with the *Comité de Sûreté Générale* and forbade them to correspond with the *Commune*. It forbade all Central Committees of these Sections.

(v.) It forbade all local authorities to levy rates or taxes.

(vi.) It forbade all public meetings.

(vii.) It compelled the *Représentants en mission* to correspond every ten days with the *Comité de Salut Public*, forbade them to dismiss any General except provisionally, and ordered them to inform the Committee of such dismissal within 24 hours.

In short, it showed that the men who were now grasping the reins of government had thoroughly learned the lesson that local self-government was at present impossible; the *Ancien Régime* was restored in its procedure, though without its practical alleviations of despotism. Chaumette was alarmed and attempted for a moment to rouse the sections of Paris on Dec. 4th, but his or their courage failed and nothing came of it. Even the Convention was alarmed, and on 12th Bourdon plucked up spirit to demand fresh elections to the Committee, which would then probably have been filled with Dantonists, but on 13th, on the motion of Cambacérés, the existing Committee was continued, Robespierre having a majority in the Centre of the Convention. (*See Gros, Le Comité de Salut Public, p. 81 sqq.; Aulard, Recueil, ix. 351.*)

The analysis of the methods of work of the Committee (*vid. supr.*, iii. 72) has been admirably done by M. Gros; it sat in the former *petits appartements du Roi, Pavillon de Flore*, ground floor, guarded on both sides with cannons and matches burning; several rooms adjoining contained its agents and subordinates. The Committee met at 10 A.M., and again at 8 P.M. There was no President nor order of deliberation, but there were six Sections of it for working purposes, (i.) *Correspondance Générale*: Billaud and Collot; (ii.) Foreign: Barère (but this was a sinecure: we have abundant evidence that the ministers resident abroad received neither pay nor instructions during the height of the Terror, *see Sorel, iii. 527*); (iii.) War: Carnot, Lindet, Prieur-Côte-d'Or; (iv.) Admiralty: Saint-André, Prieur-Marne; (v.) Interior (meaning police): Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just; (vi.) *Réclamations* (*i.e.*, to receive petitions): two members in turn. The morning session was unimportant, and was chiefly occupied in the opening of letters and distributing work to the sections. The evening session received reports from the Sections, and decided what decrees were to be dictated to the Convention; once a week the *Comité de Salut Public* met the *Comité de Sûreté Générale* (which usually sat in the Rue de Varennes) in a 'General Session.' It must be remembered that many members of both Committees were often absent for long periods *en mission* (Saint-André and Lindet nearly always, Saint-Just and Collot at critical times.)

Committee of Public Salvation, as Supreme ; of General Surety, as subaltern : these, like a Lesser and Greater Council, most harmonious hitherto, have become the centre of all things. They ride this Whirlwind ; they, raised by force of circumstances, insensibly, very strangely, thither to that dread height ;—and guide it, and seem to guide it. Stranger set of Cloud-Compellers the Earth never saw. A Robespierre, a Billaud, a Collot, Couthon, Saint-Just ; not to mention still meaner Amars,¹ Vadiers,² in *Sûreté Générale* : these are your Cloud-Compellers. Small intellectual talent is necessary : indeed where among them, except in the head of Carnot, busied organising victory, would you find any ? The talent is one of instinct rather. It is that of divining aright what this great dumb Whirlwind wishes and wills ; that of willing, with more frenzy than any one, what all the world wills.³ To stand at no obstacles ; to heed no considerations, human or divine, to know well that, of divine or human, there is one thing needful, Triumph of the Republic, Destruction of the Enemies of the Republic ! With this one spiritual endowment, and so few others, it is strange to see how a dumb inarticulately storming Whirlwind of things puts, as it were, its reins into your hand, and invites and compels you to be leader of it.

Hard by, sits a Municipality of Paris ; all in red nightcaps since the fourth of November last : a set of men fully 'on a

¹[Amar, born at Grenoble 1750, deputy to Convention for Isère, the leading member of the *Sûreté Générale* ; a ferocious Jacobin, but took a strong line against Robespierre in Thermidor : was accused in Sept. '94 of having been Robespierre's accomplice, and again after the insurrection of Germinal of having been the accomplice of Collot. This time he was imprisoned but released by the amnesty of Brumaire—retired from public life, and died 1815.]

²[Vadier was one of the very few Revolutionists who had passed their 50th year, born 1736, sat in the Constituent for Foix, and in the Convention for Ariège ; member of the *Sûreté Générale*, and often President of it : played first into the hands of Robespierre and then into those of the Thermidorians : sentenced to exile after Germinal, with Billaud and Collot, he escaped by hiding till 1798, when he was arrested as a *Babouviste*, but again escaped. In 1816 was exiled, and died at Brussels in 1828 at the age of 92.]

³[This is obviously an utter mistake. The 'great dumb whirlwind' (if by that Carlyle means the French people) wanted peace and an end to the Terror as the first thing necessary to the re-establishment of Constitutional Monarchy. The 'cloud compellers' in question were determined *not* to listen to the voice of the people, one of the earliest of whose articulate cries would have been for their heads.]

level with circumstances,' or even beyond it. Sleek Mayor Pache, studious to be safe in the middle; Chaumettes, Héberts, Varlets, and Henriot their great Commandant; not to speak of Vincent the War-clerk, of Momoros, Dobsents and such like: all intent to have Churches plundered, to have Reason adored, Suspects cut down, and the Revolution triumph. Perhaps carrying the matter *too far*? Danton was heard to grumble at the civic strophes; and to recommend prose and decency. Robespierre also grumbles that, in overturning Superstition, we did not mean to make a religion of Atheism. In fact, your Chaumette and Company constitute a kind of Hyper-Jacobinism, or rabid 'Faction *des Enragés*;' which has given orthodox Patriotism some umbrage, of late months. To 'know a Suspect on the streets;' what is this but bringing the *Law of the Suspect* itself into ill odour? Men half-frantic, men zealous overmuch,—they toil there, in their red nightcaps, restlessly, rapidly, accomplishing what of Life is allotted them.

And the Forty-four Thousand other Townships, each with Revolutionary Committee, based on Jacobin Daughter-Society; enlightened by the spirit of Jacobinism; quickened by the Forty Sous a-day!—The French Constitution spurned always at anything like Two Chambers; and yet behold, has it not verily got Two Chambers? National Convention, elected, for one; Mother of Patriotism, self-elected, for another! Mother of Patriotism has her debates reported in the *Moniteur*, as important state-procedures; which indisputably they are. A Second Chamber of Legislature we call this Mother-Society;—if perhaps it were not rather comparable to that old Scotch Body named *Lords of the Articles*, without whose origination, and signal given, the so-called Parliament could introduce no bill, could do no work? Robespierre himself, whose words are a law, opens his incorruptible lips copiously in the Jacobins Hall. Smaller Council of *Salut Public*, Greater Council of *Sûreté Générale*, all active Parties, come here to plead; to shape beforehand what decision they must arrive at, what destiny they have to expect. Now if a question arose, Which of those Two Chambers, Convention, or

Lords of the Articles, was the *stronger*? Happily they as yet go hand in hand.

As for the National Convention, truly it has become a most composed Body.¹ Quenched now the old effervescence; the Seventy-three locked in ward; once noisy Friends of the Girondins sunk all into silent men of the Plain, called even 'Frogs of the Marsh,' *Crapauds du Marais*! Addresses come, Revolutionary Church-plunder comes; Deputations, with prose or strophes: these the Convention receives. But beyond this, the Convention has one thing mainly to do: to listen what *Salut Public* proposes, and say, Yea.

Bazire followed by Chabot, with some impetuosity, declared, one morning, that this was not the way of a Free Assembly. "There ought to be an Opposition side, a *Côté Droit*," cried Chabot: "if none else will form it, I will. People say to me, You will all get guillotined in your turn, first you and Bazire, then Danton, then Robespierre himself."² So spake the Disfrocked, with a loud voice: next week, Bazire and he lie in the Abbaye; wending, one may fear, towards Tinville and the Axe; and 'people say to me'—what seems to be proving true! Bazire's blood was all inflamed with Revolution Fever; with coffee and spasmodic dreams.³ Chabot, again, how happy with his rich Jew-Austrian wife, late *Fräulein Frey*! But he lies in Prison; and his two Jew-Austrian Brothers-in-Law, the Bankers Frey, lie with him; waiting the urn of doom. Let a National Convention, therefore, take warning, and know its function. Let the Convention, all as one man, set its shoulder to the work; not with bursts of Parliamentary eloquence, but in quite other and serviceabler ways!

¹['A pack of trembling cowards,' as Madame Roland said long ago (p. 292): she was right for once. There were at this time hardly ever 200 members present at the debates: the one aim of a 'respectable' member was to get put on to a subordinate Committee which would keep him at work, and so obviate the necessity of voting or being sent on a *mission*.]

²Débats, du 10 Nov. 1793. [For Chabot and Bazire, *vid. supr.*, ii. 153; they were arrested Jan. 16th '94; this probably refers to Bazire's opposition to the motion of Nov. 10th, that members of the Convention should give an account of their incomes. {See *Moniteur*, Nov. 12th.}]

³Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, i. 115.

Convention Commissioners, what we ought to call Representatives, 'Représentans on mission,' fly, like the Herald Mercury, to all points of the Territory; carrying your behests far and wide. In their 'round hat, plumed with tricolor feathers, girt with flowing tricolor taffeta; in close frock, tricolor sash, sword and jack-boots,' these men are powerfuller than King or Kaiser. They say to whomso they meet, Do; and he must do it: all men's goods are at their disposal; for France is as one huge City in Siege. They smite with Requisitions, and Forced-loan; they have the power of life and death. Saint-Just and Lebas order the rich classes of Strasburg to 'strip off their shoes,' and send them to the Armies, where as many as 'ten-thousand pairs' are needed. Also, that within four-and-twenty hours, 'a thousand beds' be got ready;¹ wrapt in matting, and sent under way. For the time presses!—Like swift bolts, issuing from the fuliginous Olympus of *Salut Public*, rush these men, oftenest in pairs; scatter your thunder-orders over France; make France one enormous Revolutionary thunder-cloud.

¹ Moniteur du 27 Nov. 1793. [The Mission of Saint-Just and Lebas to Alsace lasted Oct. 17th—Dec. 28th. The Revolutionary army and Revolutionary Tribunal there had already been established before their arrival (with Euloge Schneider in the place of Fouquier-Tinville). Saint-Just quarrelled with Schneider in Dec. and had him sent to the *Tribunal* at Paris (April 1st '94), which quickly despatched him. Before the end of November Saint-Just had levied three compulsory loans on the Department of the Bas-Rhin, two of 4 and one of 9 millions, and requisitioned all the shoes, cloaks and beds in the city of Strasburg. "All the aristocrats," wrote Saint-Just to Robespierre, "of the Municipality, the Law Courts and the Regiments, have been put to death" (Robespierre in Jacobins, Nov. 21st). "Sainte Guillotine is in the most brilliant activity, the masterful b—h," writes another Strasburg Jacobin (Von Sybel, iii. 232).

Saint-Just then went to the Army of the North, Jan. 26th—Feb. 20th.]

[Carlyle makes the great, but natural, mistake if not of attributing the Victories to the Terror, yet of attributing the Terror and the Victories to the same source. It is the greatest Service to History of the greatest of modern French Historians (M. Sorel) to have proved that the Victories were in spite of and not because of the Terror. In spite of all the horrors of Paris, in spite of the abject condition of the covering 'Sovereign' Convention, the great heart of France was beating soundly with one impulse, namely, to drive back the enemy. If you were at the front, you might hide or forget the fact that you were fighting for the most bloodstained set of rascals that ever called themselves a government; you could not doubt that you were fighting for France. Meanwhile the very Terror itself, by reflex action, turned all activity towards the frontiers: where the Terror and the Defence met the former thwarted the latter far more than it helped it; e.g., the *Représentant en mission* at Bordeaux seized the supplies which were on their way to the Army of the Pyrenees, to feed the *Sansculottes* of Bordeaux with, 'otherwise the Counter-Revolution would have triumphed there:' his colleagues at Perpignan were naturally furious

with him. (Aulard, *Recueil*, vii. 476.) The incessant denunciations of the Generals by the Proconsuls, if here and there they succeeded in removing a feeble or traitorous personality, must in the long run have hampered the general scheme of the Defence: *e.g.*, when Houchard (afterwards himself a victim) reached the Army of the North, as successor to Custine, he learned that Billaud had just arrested the whole of his Staff. The denunciations were not always well received by the *Comité de Salut Public*, but too often were: yet the acts and orders of the Committee were very often set at naught by the Proconsuls. On Sept. 15th '93 we have an important decree, on the motion of Saint-André, that the Generals of the Republic 'renouncing the idea of making foreigners feel the value of liberty' are henceforward to exercise the ordinary laws of war in all conquered countries, though the 'ordinary laws of war' are somewhat liberally interpreted by an order of the Committee to its Generals to seize and drive off into the interior of France all sheep, beasts and pigs in that part of the Palatinate which is in French hands (*ibid.* x. 413, Jan. 24th '94).

That the Terror was not established in the most Republican provinces with any ease is manifest from the constant recriminations of *Représentants en mission* against each other. At Rochefort there might for once be a brisk competition for the post of public executioner (*ibid.* viii. 280); but one only needs to look at the despairing letters even of the most savage Proconsuls, *e.g.*, Lebon, Nov. 8th, Collot, Nov. 23rd, all complaining of constant and hopeless overwork and of failing health. 'Jurors of sufficient bloodthirstiness cannot be found to serve at Arras' (xi. 124), 'the local administrations are always hostile and must be renewed *en bloc*;' 'this is difficult as the only real patriots are those who cannot write or read' (xi. 207); a roving commission has to be given to a spy called Jullien (July '93), to visit the missions all round Western France, to be in fact a spy on spies (vi. 397); and this leads to the creation of *Agents Nationaux* (a further wheel to the overladen coach of Officialdom), who are to be peripatetic, each in a district. One representative humourously complains that it 'is not fitting that his whole time should be taken up in marrying priests at the foot of the tree of liberty' (viii. 152). Collot describes, as far back as April 22nd '93, a scene in the department of the Nièvre: 'We had 'the guillotine set up in all pomp here, and the executioner performed on five lay 'figures representing Dumouriez, etc., there were tremendous cheers as each head 'fell. Then we burned all the ancient title deeds we could find; the executioner 'spat on these papers and smote his rump over them. These acts of contempt 'were most suitable, and the people returned vowing tyrants and despots to the 'execration of posterity' (iii. 198). We may doubt whether such scenes as this had much to do with the Victories; they were the very life and soul of the Terror.]

CHAPTER VI

DO THY DUTY

ACCORDINGLY, alongside of these bonfires of Church-balustrades, and sounds of fusillading and noyading, there rise quite another sort of fires and sounds: Smithy-fires and Proof-volleys for the manufacture of arms.

Cut off from Sweden and the world, the Republic must learn to make steel for itself;¹ and, by aid of Chemists, she has

¹[Carnot calculated at the end of August (Corresp. iii. 455, *sqq.*), to be able to turn out 1,000 muskets a day when his machinery should be in full work; but Sweden was one of the very few countries from which the Republic was *not* cut off. The Regent of Sweden was only too anxious to break off all the designs of his pre-

learnt it. Towns that knew only iron, now know steel: from their new dungeons at Chantilly, Aristocrats may hear the rustle of our new steel furnace there. Do not bells transmute themselves into cannon; iron stancheons into the white-weapon (*arme blanche*), by sword-cutlery? The wheels of Langres scream, amid their sputtering fire-halo; grinding mere swords. The stithies of Charleville ring with gun-making. What say we, Charleville? Two-hundred and fifty-eight Forges stand in the open spaces of Paris itself; a hundred and forty of them in the Esplanade of the Invalides, fifty-four in the Luxembourg Garden:¹ so many Forges stand; grim Smiths beating and forging at lock and barrel there. The Clockmakers have come, requisitioned, to do the touch-holes, the hard-solder and file-work. Five great Barges swing at anchor on the Seine Stream, loud with boring; the great press-drills grating harsh thunder to the general ear and heart. And deft Stock-makers do gouge and rasp; and all men bestir themselves, according to their cunning:—in the language of hope, it is reckoned that ‘a thousand finished muskets can be delivered daily.’² Chemists of the Republic have taught us miracles of swift tanning:³ the cordwainer bores and stitches;—*not* of ‘wood and pasteboard,’ or he shall answer it to Tinville! The women sew tents and coats, the children scrape surgeons’-lint, the old men sit in the marketplaces; able men are on march; all men in requisition: from Town to Town flutters, on the Heaven’s winds, this Banner, THE FRENCH PEOPLE RISEN AGAINST TYRANTS.

All which is well. But now arises the question: What is to be done for saltpetre? Interrupted Commerce and the English Navy

decessor Gustavus III., and hoped to renew the old subsidy treaty with France, for which he was prepared to pay with the neutrality of his country, though, if possible, not with her active alliance. The Baron de Staël was sent back to Paris at the beginning of March '93, and was well received by Lebrun, who hoped to induce the Swedes to invade Russia, or even Prussia: a subsidy treaty was actually drawn up in May; but, after June 2nd, the Regent confined himself to neutrality, and Robespierre, when in power, suspended the negotiations; commercial relations however continued between France and Sweden (Sorel, iii. 305, 399, 527; iv. 65.)

¹[Add sixty-six forges in the Place de la Révolution; Charleville (in the Ardennes Department) had been, previous to the Revolution, the seat of the largest gun manufactory.]

²Choix des Rapports, xiii. 189. ³Ibid. xv. 360.

shut us out from saltpetre; and without saltpetre there is no gunpowder. Republican Science again sits meditative; discovers that saltpetre exists here and there, though in attenuated quantity; that old plaster of walls holds a sprinkling of it;—that the earth of the Paris Cellars holds a sprinkling of it, diffused through the common rubbish; that were these dug up and washed, saltpetre might be had. Whereupon, swiftly, see! the Citoyens, with upshoved *bonnet rouge*, or with doffed bonnet, and hair toil-wetted; digging fiercely, each in his own cellar, for saltpetre. The Earth-heap rises at every door; the Citoyennes with hod and bucket carrying it up; the Citoyens, pith in every muscle, shovelling and digging: for life and saltpetre. Dig, my *braves*; and right well speed ye! What of saltpetre is essential the Republic shall not want.¹

Consummation of Sansculottism has many aspects and tints: but the brightest tint, really of a solar or stellar brightness, is this which the Armies give it. That same fervour of Jacobinism, which internally fills France with hatreds, suspicions, scaffolds and Reason-worship, does, on the Frontiers, show itself as a glorious *Pro patria mori*. Ever since Dumouriez's defection, three Convention Representatives attend every General. Committee of *Sauv* has sent them; often with this Laconic order only: "Do thy duty, *Fais ton devoir*." It is strange, under what impediments the fire of Jacobinism, like other such fires, will burn. These Soldiers have shoes of wood and pasteboard, or go booted in hay-ropes, in dead of winter; they skewer a bast mat round their shoulders, and are destitute of most things. What then? It is for Rights of Frenchhood, of Manhood, that they fight: the unquenchable spirit, here as elsewhere, works miracles. "With

¹[The making of gunpowder had, previous to the Revolution been a monopoly of the *Agence des Poudres et des Salpêtres*, established at Saint-Denis. The monopoly was abolished in 1791: with the result that in '93 saltpetre had to be imported from abroad: in Sept. '93 all materials requisite for the manufacture of saltpetre were put in requisition; on Feb. 1st '94 a speech of Barère's in the Convention led to the pulling down of old walls and houses here described by Carlyle, and to the establishment of *raffineries* for extracting saltpetre; all through '94 the Committee had been busy trying to increase the quantity, and had sent chemists to the Indre-et-Loire and to Vaucluse, to set up *raffineries* there. (Boursin and Chalame. (Art. *Poudre*); *Moniteur*, Feb. 3rd and 4th '94.)]

steel and bread," says the Convention Representative, "one may get to China."¹ The Generals go fast to the guillotine; justly and unjustly. From which what inference? This, among others: That ill-success is death; that in victory alone is life! To conquer or die is no theatrical palabra, in these circumstances, but a practical truth and necessity. All Girondism, Halfness, Compromise is swept away. Forward, ye Soldiers of the Republic, captain and man! Dash, with your Gaelic impetuosity, on Austria, England, Prussia, Spain, Sardinia; Pitt, Cobourg, York, and the Devil and the World! Behind us is but the Guillotine; before us is Victory, Apotheosis and Millennium without end!

See, accordingly, on all Frontiers, how the Sons of Night, astonished after short triumph, do recoil;—the Sons of the Republic flying at them, with wild *Ça-ira* or Marseillaise *Aux armes*, with the temper of cat-o'-mountain, or demon incarnate; which no Son of Night can stand! Spain, which came bursting through the Pyrenees, rustling with Bourbon banners, and went conquering here and there for a season, falters at such cat-o'-mountain welcome; draws itself in again; too happy now were the Pyrenees impassable. Not only does Dugommier, conqueror of Toulon, drive Spain back; he invades Spain. General Dugommier invades it by the Eastern Pyrenees; General Müller shall invade it by the Western. *Shall*, that is the word: Committee of *Salut Public* has said it; Representative Cavaignac, on mission there, must see it done. Impossible! cries Müller.—Infallible! answers Cavaignac. Difficulty, impossibility, is to no purpose. "The Committee is deaf on that side of its head," answers Cavaignac, "*n'entend pas de cette oreille là*. How many wantest thou, of men, of horses, cannons? Thou shalt have them. Conquerors, conquered or hanged, forward we must."² Which things also, even as the Representatives spake them, were *done*. The

¹['With steel and bread to China.' Hoche's words (which are probably those to which Carlyle here refers, though Hoche was not a Representative but a General) occur in a letter to Desaix, afterwards the hero of Marengo, Dec. 27th 1793: "With bayonets and bread we can conquer all the brigands of Europe." (See *Vie de L. Hoche par A. Rousselin* (Paris, 1798), ii. 42.)]

²There is, in *Prudhomme*, an atrocity à la Captain-Kirk reported of this Cavaignac; which has been copied into Dictionaries, of *Hommes Marquans*, of *Biographie*

Spring of the new Year sees Spain invaded: and redoubts are carried, and Passes and Heights of the most scarp'd description; Spanish Field-officerism struck mute at such cat-o'-mountain spirit, the cannon forgetting to fire.¹ Swept are the Pyrenees; Town after Town flies open, burst by terror or the petard. In the course of another year, Spain will crave Peace; acknowledge its sins and the Republic; nay, in Madrid, there will be joy as for a victory, that even Peace is got.²

Few things, we repeat, can be notabler than these Convention Representatives, with their power more than kingly. Nay at bottom are they not Kings, *Able-men*, of a sort; chosen from the Seven-hundred and Forty-nine French Kings; with this order, Do thy duty? Representative Levasseur, of small stature, by trade a mere pacific Surgeon-Accoucheur, has mutinies to quell; mad hosts (mad at the Doom of Custine) bellowing far and wide; he alone amid them, the one small Representative,—small, but as hard as flint, which also carries *fire* in it! So too, at Hond-schooten,³ far in the afternoon, he declares that the Battle is not

Universelle, &c.; which not only has no truth in it, but, much more singular, is still capable of being proved to have none. [Cavaignac, born 1762, deputy to Convention for Haute-Garonne, *en mission* in La Vendée and with army of West Pyrenees; a leading Thermidorian, and defender of the Convention in Prairial and Vendémiaire, died in exile 1829; was the father of General Cavaignac of 1848 fame and of Mrs. Carlyle's friend Godefroi Cavaignac. The atrocity referred to in Prudhomme (vi. 222) is that Cavaignac promised to save a certain M. Labarrère at the price of his daughter's honour, and then sent him to the scaffold after all. 'Capable of being disproved,' *i.e.*, upon evidence which came out when Cavaignac was tried for a Jacobin rising in 1834, and was defended by M. Étienne Arago.]

¹ Deux Amis, xiii. 205-30; Toulougeon, &c.

²[Two of the fourteen armies of the Republic were directed against Spain: (i.) That of the *Eastern Pyrenees*, successively under Dagobert (May '93); Barbantane (Aug.); Thureau (Sept.); Doppet (Oct.); and Dugommier (Jan. '94); the war continued on the whole favourable to France, but it was not till Sept. 18th '94 that the Spaniards evacuated Bellegarde, which they had held since June '93: on Nov. 18th '94 Dugommier was killed in battle, and was succeeded by Scherer (March 3rd '95), and he by Moncey, as general of both armies East and West, who ended the war by taking Bilbao.

(ii.) That of the *Western Pyrenees*: the Spaniards were besieging St. Jean-Pied-de-Port in July and Aug. '93. The Generals for France were successively d'Elbecq, Dumas, Müller and Moncey; it was the last who in the summer of '94 really turned the tide of Spanish successes by the storming of the lines of Fontarabia and Ernani.

Peace with Spain was signed at Bâle July 22nd '95 (*vid. infr.*, iii. 231.)]

³[Sept 6th—8th '93. The accounts of Levasseur's bravery are fully confirmed by Carnot (Corresp. Gén. iii. 115); for Levasseur *vid. supr.*, ii. 328; for the victory of Hond-schoote *vid. supr.*, iii. 121.]

lost ; that it must be gained ; and fights, himself, with his own obstetric hand ;—horse shot under him, or say on foot, ‘up to the haunches in tide-water ;’ cutting stoccado and passado there, in defiance of Water, Earth, Air and Fire, the choleric little Representative that he was ! Whereby, as natural, Royal Highness of York had to withdraw,—occasionally at full gallop ; like to be swallowed by the tide : and his Siege of Dunkirk became a dream, realising only much loss of beautiful siege-artillery and of brave lives.¹

General Houchard,² it would appear, stood behind a hedge on this Hondshooten occasion ; wherefore they have since guillotined him. A new General Jourdan,³ late Sergeant Jourdan, commands in his stead : he, in long-winded Battles of Watigny, ‘murderous artillery-fire mingling itself with sound of Revolutionary battle-hymns,’ forces Austria behind the Sambre again ; has hopes for purging the soil of Liberty.⁴ With hard wrestling, with artillerying and *ça-ira-ing*, it shall be done. In the course of a new Summer, Valenciennes will see itself beleaguered ; Condé beleaguered ; whatsoever is yet in the hands of Austria beleaguered and bombarded : nay, by Convention Decree, we even summon them *all* ‘either to surrender in twenty-four hours, or else to be put to the sword ;’—a high saying, which, though it remains unfulfilled, may show what spirit one is of.

¹ Levasseur, Mémoires, ii. c. 2-7. [The great importance of raising the siege of Dunkirk is again and again noticed by Carnot (*see esp. Corresp. iii. 55 and 114*); it was the first step towards clearing the enemy out of Maritime Flanders.]

²[Houchard, *vid. sup.*, iii. 121.]

³Jourdan was the son of a surgeon, born 1762 ; entered the army as a private and retired early, went into trade in Limoges 1784 ; served in the National Guard 1789, and rejoined the army as a volunteer 1792 ; commanded the Army of the Ardennes, Sept. 11th ; North, Sept. 22nd '93 ; Moselle, March 20th '94 ; Sambret-Meuse, June 13th '95 ; was on the whole, after Hoche, the most distinguished of the early Republican soldiers. Napoleon always dreaded him, though he was one of the first Generals created a Marshal of the Empire. At the Restoration he became a Peer of France and died as Governor of the Invalides, 1833.]

⁴[Oct. 16th '93. Carnot paid two short visits at this time to the Army of the North (Sept. 25th—28th, and Oct. 6th—20th), and sketched out Jourdan's course for him. Maubeuge was being besieged by Coburg ; Jourdan advanced from Guise 50,000 strong : the battle began on 15th, on 16th the position of Wattignies was carried, whereon the enemy withdrew, and raised the siege of Maubeuge that night. Carnot wanted Jourdan to press on after Wattignies and prevent the re-union of York and Coburg, but this was not done. (*See Carnot's Corresp. iii. 315 and the interesting fragment there quoted from Jourdan's unpublished Mémoires.*)]

Representative Drouet, as an Old-dragon, could fight by a kind of second nature : but he was unlucky. Him, in a night-foray at Maubeuge, the Austrians took alive, in October last.¹ They stript him almost naked, he says ; making a show of him, as King-taker of Varennes. They flung him into carts ; sent him far into the interior of Cimmeria, to 'a Fortress called Spitzberg' on the Danube River ; and left him there, at an elevation of perhaps a hundred and fifty feet, to his own bitter reflections. Reflections ; and also devices ! For the indomitable Old-dragon constructs wing-machinery, of Paperkite ; saws window-bars ; determines to fly down. He will seize a boat, will follow the River's course ; land somewhere in Crim Tartary, in the Black-Sea or Constantinople region : *à la* Sindbad ! Authentic History, accordingly, looking far into Cimmeria, discerns dimly a phenomenon. In the dead night-watches, the Spitzberg sentry is near fainting with terror :—Is it a huge vague Portent descending through the night-air ? It is a huge National Representative Old-dragon, descending by Paper-kite ; too rapidly, alas ! For Drouet had taken with him 'a small provision-store, twenty pounds weight or thereby ;' which proved accelerative : so he fell, fracturing his leg ; and lay there, moaning, till day dawned, till you could discern clearly that he was not a Portent but a Representative.²

Or see Saint-Just, in the Lines of Weissembourg,³ though physically of a timid apprehensive nature, how he charges with his 'Alsatian Peasants armed hastily' for the nonce ; the solemn face of him blazing into flame ; his black hair and tricolor hat-taffeta flowing in the breeze ! These our Lines of Weissembourg were indeed forced, and Prussia and the Emigrants rolled through : but we *re-force*⁴ the Lines of Weissembourg ; and

¹ [Oct. 2nd.]

² His Narrative (in *Deux Amis*, xiv. 177-86).

³ [(*Vid. supr.*, iii. 81.) Since the loss of Mainz the two Armies of the Moselle and the Rhine had been greatly disorganised, Commander after Commander being dismissed by Bouchotte to please the Paris Radicals ; Würmser had forced the lines of Weissembourg on Oct. 13th, while the Prussians had advanced as far as Wörth ; Strasburg was thus in great danger.]

⁴ [Dec. 26th '93.]

Prussia and the emigrants roll back again still faster,—hurled with bayonet-charges and fiery *ça-ira-ing*.

Ci-devant Sergeant Pichegru, *ci-devant* Sergeant Hoche,¹ risen now to be Generals, have done wonders here. Tall Pichegru was meant for the Church; was Teacher of Mathematics once, in Brienne School,—his remarkablest Pupil there was the Boy Napoleon Buonaparte. He then, not in the sweetest humour, enlisted, exchanging ferula for musket; and had got the length of the halberd, beyond which nothing could be hoped; when the Bastille barriers falling made passage for him, and he is here. Hoche bore a hand at the literal overturn of the Bastille; he was, as we saw, a Sergeant of the *Gardes Françaises*, spending his pay in rushlights and cheap editions of books. How the Mountains are burst, and many an Enceladus is disemprisoned; and Captains founding on Four parchments of Nobility are blown with their parchments across the Rhine, into Lunar Limbo!²

What high feats of arms, therefore, were done in these Fourteen Armies; and how, for love of Liberty and hope of Promotion, lowborn valour cut its desperate way to Generalship; and, from the central Carnot in *Salut Public* to the outmost drummer on the

¹[For Hoche *vid. supr.*, i. 218. Pichegru, a *rusé* peasant, born 1761; joined the Artillery 1783, after teaching mathematics at Brienne; became Colonel of a battalion of Volunteers (Gard), 1792; General of Division in Army of Rhine in summer of '93, and now its Commander-in-Chief; on the arrest of Hoche he received from Saint-Just the command of the two Armies united, and later in the year '94 was sent to command the Army of the North, with which he delivered Valenciennes and Condé, and finally overran the Netherlands and conquered Holland (Jan. 19th '95). He put down the insurrection of Germinal successfully, and then began to think of 'playing Monk,' intrigued with Condé, etc. He was disgraced and retired; elected to the Council of 500 he continued his intrigues, was arrested in '98 and transported to Cayenne: escaped to England, organised Cadoudal's conspiracy, was arrested in Paris, and was mysteriously "found strangled" in prison, April 5th 1804, probably a victim to Napoleon's jealousy.]

²[Pichegru was sent to the Army of the Rhine Oct. 2nd, Hoche to that of the Moselle Oct. 22nd; their first task was to relieve Landau, which was besieged: in November Hoche pushed Brunswick back to Kaiserslautern, but had to retire from before his lines (Nov. 30th); Pichegru spent October and November hardening his army with sallies from under the walls of Strasburg; in the latter half of December the two Generals acting in concert succeeded in driving back Würmsers with some very bloody fighting; and, as Brunswick was unable to come to their assistance, the Austrians were at last driven from Weissembourg Dec. 26th; Landau was relieved thereby, and Strasburg freed from all immediate danger; the Prussians took winter quarters at Neustadt, and the Austrians at Philipsburg (beyond the Rhine).]

Frontiers, men strove for their Republic, let Readers fancy. The snows of Winter, the flowers of Summer continue to be stained with warlike blood. Gaelic impetuosity mounts ever higher with victory; spirit of Jacobinism weds itself to national vanity: the Soldiers of the Republic are becoming, as we prophesied, very Sons of Fire. Barefooted, barebacked: but with bread and iron you can get to China! It is one Nation against the whole world; but the Nation has that within her which the whole world will not conquer. Cimmeria, astonished, recoils faster or slower; all round the Republic there rises fiery, as it were, a magic ring of musket-volleying and *ça-ira*-ing. Majesty of Prussia,¹ as Majesty of Spain,² will by and by acknowledge his sins and the Republic; and make a Peace of Bâle.

Foreign Commerce, Colonies, Factories in the East and in the West, are fallen or falling into the hands of sea-ruling Pitt, enemy of human nature. Nevertheless what sound is this that we hear, on the first of June 1794; sound as of war-thunder borne from the Ocean too, of tone most piercing? War-thunder from off the Brest waters:³ Villaret-Joyeuse and English Howe, after long manœuvring,⁴ have ranked themselves there; and are belching fire.⁵ The enemies of human nature are on their own element; cannot be conquered; cannot be kept from conquering. Twelve

¹[April 5th '95.]

²[July 22nd '95.]

³[The Committee had gigantic and far-reaching plans for Naval construction: on May 10th orders were given to lay down 100 ships of the line and 160 frigates, but meanwhile not to compromise the small fleet that France possessed, unless it were by a projected descent on the Channel Islands, which was being prepared in great secrecy at Saint-Malo from Jan. '94; the only effect of this project seems to have been to ruin the Saint-Malo fishermen, who were forbidden to go out at night lest they should betray the secret: it had to be given up owing to the profound disaffection of the town and the rotten state of the roads leading to it. (See Aulard, *Recueil*, x. 562; xi. 87, etc.)]

⁴[Saint-André and Villaret were ordered to go out from Brest to convoy a fleet of merchant vessels coming from America with wheat: in this they were successful, in spite of the defeat of the French fleet (*Rév. Fr.* xxxii. 428). The French fleet which went out from Brest, May 16th, comprised 23 of the line and was subsequently raised to 26; Howe left Spithead with 34 of the line and 18 frigates on May 2nd, but he detached 8 of the line to convoy some merchantmen: he did not find the French fleet till May 28th, and the fight began that night; Mahan, while admiring Howe's tactics in the preliminary manœuvres, criticises some part of the final action on June 1st; at any rate too many of the French ships were allowed to escape. (Mahan, i. 146, 577.)]

⁵[May 28th—June 1st.]

hours of raging cannonade; sun now sinking westward through the battle-smoke: six French Ships taken, the Battle lost; what Ship soever can still sail, making off! But how is it, then, with that *Vengeur* Ship, she neither strikes nor makes off? She is lamed, she cannot make off; strike she will not. Fire rakes her fore and aft from victorious enemies; the *Vengeur* is sinking. Strong are ye, Tyrants of the sea; yet we also, are we weak? Lo! all flags, streamers, jacks, every rag of tricolor that will yet run on rope, fly rustling aloft: the whole crew crowds to the upper deck; and with universal soul-maddening yell, shouts *Vive la République*,—sinking, sinking. She staggers, she lurches, her last drunk whirl; Ocean yawns abysmal: down rushes the *Vengeur*, carrying *Vive la République* along with her, unconquerable, into Eternity.¹ Let foreign Despots think of that. There is an Unconquerable in man, when he stands on his Rights of Man: let Despots and Slaves and all people know this, and only them that stand on the Wrongs of Man tremble to know it.—So has History written, nothing doubting, of the sunk *Vengeur*.²

— Reader! Mendez Pinto, Münchäusen, Cagliostro, Psalmanazar have been great; but they are not the greatest. O Barrère, Barrère, Anacreon of the Guillotine! must inquisitive pictorial History, in a new edition, ask again, ‘How is it with the *Vengeur*,’ in this its glorious suicidal sinking; and, with resentful brush, dash a bend-sinister of contumelious lampblack through thee and it? Alas, alas! The *Vengeur*, after fighting bravely, did sink altogether as other ships do, her captain and above two-hundred of her crew escaping gladly in British boats; and this same enormous inspiring Feat, and rumour ‘of sound most piercing,’ turns out to be an enormous inspiring Non-entity, extant nowhere save, as falsehood, in the brain of Barrère! Actually so.³ Founded, like

¹ Compare Barère (Choix des Rapports, xiv. 416-21); Lord Howe (Annual Register of 1794, p. 86), &c.

²[The next paragraph does not appear in the 1st edition of Carlyle's French Revolution. It was a letter written by Admiral Griffiths to the *Sun* newspaper in Nov. 1838, and copied into other papers, giving the true details of the sinking of the *Vengeur* that led Carlyle to add it (see his article on it in *Fraser's Magazine* for July 1839, now reprinted in his Miscellanies).]

³ Carlyle's Miscellanies, § Sinking of the *Vengeur*. [The *Vengeur* had collided with the *Brunswick*, and remained locked with her for three hours, during which

the World itself, on *Nothing*; proved by Convention Report, by solemn Convention Decree and Decrees, and wooden '*Model of the Vengeur*;' believed, bewept, besung by the whole French People to this hour, it may be regarded as Barrère's masterpiece; the largest, most inspiring piece of *blague* manufactured, for some centuries, by any man or nation. As such, and not otherwise, be it henceforth memorable.

[If it be asked how could such a bankrupt Government live and feed its armies, the answer is not so difficult as it might seem, and is briefly this. The Committee possessed unlimited power of taking by force everything that it required from any one who had it: it paid, even after the creation of the *Grand Livre* in Sept. '93, no interest to the fundholders who had not within a limited time inscribed their claims to such payment; practically no rich people dared to inscribe such claims (and before '89 the national debt was held largely by persons in at least easy circumstances): it threw all the expenses of local Administration on the Departments: it possessed the plunder of the provinces occupied in 1792 (the riches of Belgium had been immense): every fresh execution or confiscation threw more and more property into its hands; for small transactions, and to feed Paris, the *Maximum* really did work, at least after the commencement of 1794; Switzerland, the United States, and the traitorous little states of Germany poured goods into France to take advantage of the high prices. If we consider all these things it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Committee disposed of more resources than the Allied Sovereigns combined. Von Sybel however points out (iii. 310) how enormously wasteful its expenditure was; the mere wages of the Rev. Committees (3 fr. a day per man) came to 590 millions a year (a trifle more than a whole budget of the *Ancien Régime*). The Army cost 200 millions a month: the purchase of corn for Paris cost enormous sums: all taxes and rates passed through the hands of the Revolutionary Committees, and, in spite of the law of 14th Frimaire, were shorn on their way to meet local needs, such as free theatres and *fêtes*.]

CHAPTER VII

FLAME-PICTURE

IN this manner, mad-blazing with flame of all imaginable tints, from the red of Tophet to the stellar-bright, blazes off this Consummation of Sansculottism.

But the hundredth part of the things that were done, and the thousandth part of the things that were projected and decreed to be done, would tire the tongue of History. Statue of the *Peuple*

time the *Brunswick* as well as the *Vengeur* lost heavily in men, and had 23 of her guns dismantled: some 400 of the *Vengeur's* crew were saved, but the last cries of those who were drowned were *Vive la République*. But the captain Renaudin had already struck his flag and signalled for assistance, which the English ships hastened to give; Mr. Stephens in the 'Orators' (ii. 95) suggests that it was Renaudin's account of the event on which Barère grafted his stupendous lie. (*See Mahan, i. 143-4*.)]

Souverain,¹ high as Strasburg Steeple; which shall fling its shadow from the Pont Neuf over Jardin National and Convention Hall;—enormous, in Painter David's Head! With other the like enormous Statues not a few: realised in paper Decree. For, indeed, the Statue of Liberty herself is still but Plaster, in the Place de la Révolution. Then Equalisation of Weights and Measures, with decimal division; Institutions, of Music and of much else; Institute in general; School of Arts, School of Mars, *Élèves de la Patrie*, Normal Schools: amid such Gun-boring, Altar-burning, Saltpetre-digging, and miraculous improvements in Tannery!²

What, for example, is this that Engineer Chappe is doing, in the Park of Vincennes? In the Park of Vincennes; and onwards, they say, in the Park of Lepelletier Saint-Fargeau the assassinated Deputy; and still onwards to the Heights of Écouen and farther, he has scaffolding set up, has posts driven in; wooden arms with elbow joints are jerking and fugling in the air, in the most rapid

¹[See *Moniteur*, Nov. 9th and Nov. 17th 1793; on Nov. 6th David proposed to erect a monument to the Sovereign People on the *Pont-Neuf*, the pedestal to be composed of the ruins of all the Royal statues, to which Léonard Bourdon added 'and all the ecclesiastical monuments' (carried). It was to be the *Image du peuple géant, du peuple Français*, and to have the club of Hercules in hand. The final decree was Nov. 17th: nothing was said about the 'height of Strasburg steeple' (nor can I find any reference to that), but it was to be 'colossal' and the figure was to be 15 metres (49½ English feet) high. It was to be at West point of the Island: and artists were invited to send designs.]

²[The decree for the equalisation of Weights and Measures was on Aug. 1st 1793. On April 7th 1795 the date for the coming into force of the new system was fixed to be Dec. 22nd '95.

The *Institut National* was founded by decree of the Convention Oct. 25th '95 (its last sitting but one), the first meeting of the *Institut* was held Dec. 6th '96 (it must be remembered that the Convention had, on Aug. 8th '93, suppressed all Academies and literary societies whatsoever which had any connection with the State, or ever had had any).

The *École de Mars* on the plain of Sablons was a military school created by decree of Convention June 1st '94 and dissolved soon after its creation: it was a Robespierist job: the *École Polytechnique* dates from Sept. 21st '94; the *École Normale* (to teach the art of teaching) Oct. 30th '95.

The *Écoles des Enfants de la patrie* were a design of Léonard Bourdon's for the education of the sons of soldiers who fell in the war; they were supposed to exist in each section of Paris, and were combined with *crèches* for infants. (See note at end of chapter.)

These great works (to which Carlyle might have added the Foundation of the *Archives Nationales*, Feb. '93; the attempt at Consolidation of the Public Debt in the *Grand Livre* by Cambon, Sept. '93; the first sketch of the *Code Civil*, presented by Cambacérés, Oct. '93) were carried on during '93, '94, '95 by the really useful and working members of the Convention in its smaller Committees; in which work such men found a refuge from the horrors enacted around them.]

mysterious manner! Citoyens ran up, suspicious. Yes, O Citoyens, we are signalling: it is a device this, worthy of the Republic; a thing for what we will call *Far-writing* without the aid of post-bags; in Greek it shall be named Telegraph.¹—*Télégraphe sacré!* answers Citoyenism: For writing to Traitors, to Austria?—and tears it down. Chappe had to escape, and get a new Legislative Decree. Nevertheless he has accomplished it, the indefatigable Chappe: this his *Far-writer*, with its wooden arms and elbow-joints, can intelligibly signal; and lines of them are set up, to the North Frontiers and elsewhere. On an Autumn evening of the Year Two, *Far-writer* having just written that Condé Town has surrendered to us, we send from the Tuileries Convention-Hall this response in the shape of Decree: ‘The name of Condé is changed ‘to *Nord-Libre*, North-Free.² The Army of the North ceases not ‘to merit well of the country.’—To the admiration of men! For lo, in some half hour, while the Convention yet debates, there arrives this new answer; ‘I inform thee, *je t’annonce*, Citizen ‘President, that the Decree of Convention, ordering change of ‘the name Condé into *North-Free*; and the other, declaring that ‘the Army of the North ceases not to merit well of the country; ‘are transmitted and acknowledged by Telegraph. I have instructed my Officer at Lille to forward them to North-Free by ‘express. *Signed, CHAPPE.*’³

¹[Aug. 30th '94. The brothers Claude and Ignace Chappe, born 1763 and 1760, both mechanical engineers, were the creators of the semaphore system of telegraphs. The scheme was presented to the Legislative Assembly, March 22nd '92; on April 4th '93 the Convention voted a sum of money for experiments, and on Aug. 4th ordered the establishment of a line from Paris to Lille (Aulard, *Recueil*, v. 471). For the outcry against the invention (there is no word of “tearing anything down”) see the Report of the Committee of public instruction by Lakanal, July 26th '93.]

²[The first place actually to change its name seems to have been Bar-le-Duc to Bar-sur-Ornain in Oct. '92. In the 5th vol. of the *Rev. de la Rév. M. Gustave Bord* gives long lists of places which changed their names, amounting in all to over 1,000. The new names show little inventive power, and the practice became a nuisance: the Committee issued a circular requesting that in all cases the old name of the place should be given (in correspondence) as well as the new (Aulard, *Recueil*, xi. 584). The best known changes are Dunquerque to Dunelibre; Saint-Étienne to Armes-Commune; Havre de Grâce to Havre-Marat; Compiègne to Marat-sur-Oise; Toulon to Port de la Montagne. Marseilles however stoutly resisted being called ‘Sans-Nom’ and prevailed, the Committee writing that the “glorious souvenirs of 10th Aug. forbade it” (*ibid.* x. 403).]

³Choix des Rapports, xv. 378, 384.

Or see, over Fleurus in the Netherlands, where General Jourdan, having now swept the soil of Liberty,¹ and advanced thus far, is just about to fight,² and sweep or be swept, hangs there not in the Heaven's Vault, some Prodigy, seen by Austrian eyes and spy-glasses: in the similitude of an enormous Windbag, with netting and enormous Saucer depending from it? A Jove's Balance, O ye Austrian spy-glasses? One saucer-scale of a Jove's Balance; *your* poor Austrian scale having kicked itself quite aloft, out of sight? By Heaven, answer the spy-glasses, it is a Montgolfier, a Balloon, and they are making signals! Austrian cannon-battery barks at this Montgolfier; harmless as dog at the Moon: the Montgolfier makes its signals; detects what Austrian ambuscade there may be, and descends at its ease.³—What will not these devils incarnate contrive?

¹[The Campaign of 1794, which cleared France from the Allies, drove them through and from Belgium, and ended by the Conquest of Holland in Jan. '95, was fought upon plans drawn up by Carnot. The greatest danger France had to fear was the execution of the treaty of the Hague of April '94, by which Prussia agreed to help in the defence of the Netherlands: but Thugut was most unwilling that Belgium should be saved in this way, and Thugut's diplomacy was in the ascendant, and besides, as affairs developed in Poland, Prussia not only refused to come to help the Netherlands, but would hardly stay on the Rhine: it was therefore with a half-hearted Austrian and a whole-hearted English defence alone that France had to deal; it is indeed open to doubt whether the rapid 'scuttling' of Austria out of Belgium was due more to political or to military reasons. (See Sorel, vol. iv. cap. iii.)

When the Campaign opened Coburg was in command of the Allies (some 140,000 Austrians and English) between the Sambre and the sea, and was aiming at the capture of Landrecies and Guise on the road to Paris. Pichegru faced him with 130,000, but was unable to prevent Landrecies falling, April 20th, while the French left under Souham and Moreau was more successful, and was advancing towards Ghent: Carnot thereon resolved to denude the army of the Rhine and bring all available troops to Pichegru, risking the chance that Möllendorf with a large Prussian army might advance into France, either by the gate of Lorraine or the gate of Burgundy. The result was the victory of Tourcoing, May 18th, won by Souham and Moreau, and the capture of Ypres by Pichegru, June 17th. Meanwhile Jourdan (the French right) after six failures contrived to force the passage of the Sambre (June 3rd), and 75,000 men were united under his command with the name of the Army of 'Sambre et Meuse.' He captured Charleroy, to succour which Coburg, with far inferior forces, fought and lost the battle of Fleurus, June 26th; Pichegru was then able to advance by Ghent on Brussels, Jourdan by way of Mons driving the Austrians back on Louvain and Liège: the English retired to cover Holland *via* Malines and Antwerp. (Sorel, iv. 77, *sqq.*)

²[June 26th '94.]

³June 26th '94; see 'Rapport de Guyton-Morveau sur les Aérostats,' in the *Moniteur* of 6 Vendémiaire, an II. [Guyton-Morveau, who had long studied aerostatics in company with his friend Carnot, was the experimentalist with the balloon at the battle of Fleurus (see Carnot, *Corresp.* i. 381). He was born 1737,

On the whole, is it not, O Reader, one of the strangest Flame-Pictures that ever painted itself; flaming off there, on its ground of Guillotine-black? And the nightly Theatres are Twenty-three; and the *Salons de danse* are Sixty; full of mere *Égalité*, *Fraternité* and *Carmagnole*. And Section Committee-rooms are Forty-eight; redolent of tobacco and brandy: vigorous with twenty-pence a-day, coercing the Suspect. And the Houses of Arrest are Twelve, for Paris alone; crowded and even crammed. And at all turns, you need your 'Certificate of Civism;' be it for going out, or for coming in; nay without it you cannot, for money, get your daily ounces of bread. Dusky red-capped Bakers'-queues; wagging themselves; not in silence! for we still live by Maximum,¹ in all things; waited on by these two, Scarcity and Confusion. The faces of men are darkened with suspicion; with suspecting, or being suspect. The streets lie unswept; the ways unended. Law has shut her Books; speaks little, save impromptu, through the throat of Tinville. Crimes go unpunished; not crimes against the Revolution.² 'The number of foundling children,' as some compute, 'is doubled.'

How silent now sits Royalism; sits all Aristocratism; Respectability that kept its Gig! The honour now, and the safety, is to Poverty, not to Wealth. Your Citizen, who would be fashionable, walks abroad, with his Wife on his arm, in red wool nightcap, black-shag spencer, and carmagnole complete. Aristocratism crouches low, in what shelter is still left; submitting to all requisitions, vexations; too happy to escape with life. Ghastly

avocat-général at Dijon, deputy for Côte-d'Or to Legislative and Convention, member of the first *Comité de Salut Public* and afterwards of the Council of 500, died 1816. The project for a war balloon was first brought before the Committee by Guyton-Morveau, July '93 (Aulard, Recueil, v. 414).]

¹ [Paris was supplied with food by 'requisitions' from the surrounding districts: regular boundaries within which these were to be levied were mapped out; a list is given in Aulard (Recueil, viii. 220). This practice led to bitter hostility between the Capital and the neighbouring *Communes*, and led to such scenes of pillage as are described in Dauban (Paris en 1794, p. 245).]

² Mercier, v. 25; Deux Amis, xii. 142-199. [Many letters, but especially one of Dubois-Crancé, March 9th '94, complain of the fact that there are 50,000 or 60,000 men wandering over France, pretending to be on their way to join the different armies: they draw pay (of 3 *sous* a league) on this pretence, but never do join the armies, and only pillage and rob everywhere (Aulard, Recueil, xi. 615).]

châteaux stare on you by the wayside; disroofed, diswindowed; which the National Housebroker is peeling for the lead and ashlar. The old tenants hover disconsolate, over the Rhine with Condé; a spectacle to men. *Ci-devant* Seigneur, exquisite in palate, will become an exquisite Restaurateur Cook in Hamburg; *Ci-devant* Madame, exquisite in dress, a successful *Marchande des Modes* in London. In Newgate-Street, you meet M. le Marquis, with a rough deal on his shoulder, adze and jack-plane under arm; he has taken to the joiner trade; it being necessary to live (*faut vivre*).¹—Higher than all Frenchmen the domestic Stock-jobber flourishes,—in a day of Paper-money. The Farmer also flourishes: ‘Farmers’ houses,’ says Mercier, ‘have become like Pawnbrokers’ shops;’ all manner of furniture, apparel, vessels of gold and silver accumulate themselves there: bread is precious. The Farmer’s rent is Paper-money, and he alone of men has bread: Farmer is better than Landlord, and will himself become Landlord.²

And daily, we say, like a black Spectre, silently through that Life-tumult, passes the Revolution Cart; writing on the walls its MENE, MENE, *Thou art weighed, and found wanting!* A Spectre

¹ See Deux Amis, xv. 189-192; Mémoires de Genlis; Founders of the French Republic, &c. &c.

² [Carlyle’s imagination, powerful as it was, never led him to conceive any agricultural conditions other than those of his own country; it is doubtful if he had ever realised the existence of a peasant proprietary in old France; a rent-paying farmer is to him the normal cultivator. The prosperity of the Agricultural class in 1794, so far as it is not a myth, rests entirely on the fact of the splendid harvest of that year, and the extremely early and beautiful spring. But the enforcement of the *Maximum* (where it was enforced, *vid. supr.*, iii. 35), more than counteracted this, and the state of the roads, which were not repaired at all during the anarchic period, wás as disastrous to agriculture as to industry. And all the industries in France were ruined (*see* the figures collected in Rev. de la Rév. vii. 85, 210, 256): in which case how could the ‘Farmer flourish?’ It is of course quite true that a great number of peasant proprietors acquired more land, but it is also clear that the actual number of landowners did not increase, and that by far the greater part of the confiscated property was bought by speculators who did nothing to cultivate it during the anarchic period. The interference with freedom was perhaps most startlingly manifested by the order of the Committee, May 31st ’94, to all agricultural labourers to work at the coming harvest at wages fixed by their several Municipalities. The lowest rate of wages which I have come across is one fixed in the poor district of Morlaix in Brittany (as far back as Oct. ’93, but to last till Sept. ’94), *viz.*, 1 fr. 2s. 6d. a day: the same table fixes the following among other *Maximum* prices; prime beef 12 *sous* the lb., mutton 8, pork 12, butter 12, salt cod 12, red wine 15 the bottle, live cattle from 350 to 100 fr. according to sex and age (*not* according to weight or condition), sheep at 10 fr. (I confess that some of these figures, especially the last, seem to me absolutely unintelligible). (*See* Rev. de la Rév. viii. 345.)]

with which one has grown familiar. Men have adjusted themselves: complaint issues not from that Death-tumbril. Weak women and *ci-devants*, their plumage and finery all tarnished, sit there; with a silent gaze, as if looking into the Infinite Black. The once light lip wears a curl of irony, uttering no word; and the Tumbril fares along. They may be guilty before Heaven, or not; they are guilty, we suppose, before the Revolution. Then, does not the Republic 'coin money' of them, with its great axe? Red Nightcaps howl dire approval: the rest of Paris looks on; if with a sigh, that is much: Fellow-creatures whom sighing cannot help; whom black Necessity and Tinville have clutched.

One other thing, or rather two other things, we will still mention; and no more: The Blond Perukes;¹ the Tannery at Meudon. Great talk is of these *Perruques blondes*: O Reader, they are made from the Heads of Guillotined women! The locks of a Duchess, in this way, may come to cover the scalp of a cordwainer; her blonde German Frankism his black Gaelic poll, if it be bald. Or they may be worn affectionately, as relics; rendering one suspect?² Citizens use them, not without mockery; of a rather cannibal sort.

Still deeper into one's heart goes that Tannery at Meudon; not mentioned among the other miracles of tanning! 'At 'Meudon,' says Montgaillard with considerable calmness, 'there 'was a Tannery of Human Skins; such of the Guillotined as 'seemed worth flaying: of which perfectly good wash-leather 'was made;' for breeches, and other uses. The skin of the men, he remarks, was superior in toughness (*consistance*) and quality to shamoy; that of the women was good for almost nothing, being so soft in texture!³—History looking back over Cannibalism,

¹ [Vilate (p. 243) is the only other authority for the 'perruques blondes' story, and, as I have already said, he is a professional liar.]

² Mercier, ii. 134.

³ Montgaillard, iv. 320. [The old *Château* and Park of Meudon were by order of the Committee, Oct. 20th 1793, put at the disposal of certain engineers for experiments in military science; the workmen were all lodged within the walls, and were under strict *surveillance*, lest the secret (whatever it was) should leak out; it was almost certainly connected with military ballooning (see Aulard, Recueil, vii. 513).

The fable of the tannery of human skins was widespread, but appears to have

through *Purchas's Pilgrims* and all early and late Records, will perhaps find no terrestrial Cannibalism of a sort, on the whole, so detestable. It is a manufactured, soft-feeling, quietly elegant sort; a sort *perfade!* Alas then, is man's civilisation only a wrappage, through which the savage nature of him can still burst, infernal as ever? Nature still makes him; and has an Infernal in her as well as a Celestial.

only legendary foundation. It is mentioned by Georges Duval in his 'Souvenirs sur la Terreur,' as a matter of common belief, that Billaud appeared at the *Fête* of 20th Prairial in breeches of human leather. M. Wallon in *Rev. de la Rév.* (ix. 178, *sqq.*) says that experiments in such tannery were made in the reign of Louis XV., and at Meudon, simply from scientific curiosity; and this perhaps gave rise to the fable. The Convention declined to discuss the matter when it was reported to it March 2nd '95. In the Archives (A. F. ii. ; *Carton* 136) is an actual letter from a firm at Strasburg, Ziegler and Mauss, breeches-makers, addressed to Garnerin, an agent of the Committee in Alsace, proving that they had tanned human skin and made breeches out of it, and were prepared to do it again. Garnerin laid the letter before the Committee, which prohibited it altogether.]

[The originator of the system of schools in France had been the Abbé Lasalle, at the end of the 17th century; and before '89 the majority of parishes contained a primary school. The overwhelming majority of the *cahiers* demand the establishment of such schools in every parish under the superintendence of the parish Clergy. None of the *cahiers*, so far as I am aware, put forward any demand for the modern idea of "Secularisation of Education," which is wholly a tradition of the attempt to decatholicise France in the Revolution. The increase of the salaries of the schoolmasters and the provision of more schoolmistresses for girls are both demanded by the *cahiers*. The Revolution, in sweeping away the church, swept away all the parish schools with it; and, although many projects for replacing them were mooted in the Constituent, no law on the subject was passed until Oct. '93, when in consequence of a report by Lakanal in the name of the 'Committee of Instruction,' June 26th '93, the Convention created three grades of schools with free instruction, 'primary,' 'secondary' and 'normal.' There was to be a primary school with a schoolmaster and mistress for every 1,000 inhabitants. (See Alfred Babeau, *L'École de Village pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1881), and an article in *Rev. des Deux Mondes* (1881) on the same subject.)

BOOK VI
THERMIDOR
CHAPTER I

THE GODS ARE ATHIRST

WHAT then is this Thing, called *La Révolution*, which, like an Angel of Death, hangs over France, noyading, fusillading, fighting, gun-boring, tanning human skins? *La Révolution* is but so many Alphabetic Letters; a thing nowhere to be laid hands on, to be clapt under lock and key: where is it? what is it? It is the Madness that dwells in the hearts of men. In this man it is, and in that man; as a rage or as a terror, it is in all men. Invisible, impalpable; and yet no black Azrael, with wings spread over half a continent, with sword sweeping from sea to sea, could be a truer Reality.¹

To explain, what is called explaining, the march of this Revolutionary Government, be no task of ours. Man cannot explain it. A paralytic Couthon, asking in the Jacobins, 'What hast thou done to be hanged if Counter-Revolution should arrive?' a sombre Saint-Just,² not yet six-and-twenty, declaring that 'for Revolution-

¹[Félix Rocquain (*L'Esprit Révolutionnaire avant La Révolution*) explains the deification of *La Révolution*; from 1751 onwards, says he, it was in every one's thoughts and the word was in most people's mouths; D'Argenson continually speaks of *La Révolution* as if it was a perfectly well known thing. Voltaire seems never to have regarded it from a political point of view, but only as an abstraction, a Revolution in thought: in 1770 he says 'it is already accomplished and has even gone too far.' (Rocquain, 183, 279, 289.)

We might look forward 100 years and say that *La Révolution* is regarded by many Frenchmen as not yet accomplished: she is, and probably will remain, a Goddess to whom a thousand altars smoke.]

²[From the fall of Danton Saint-Just begins to appear as the leader of the Convention (though not of the Committees). He had a real scheme for regenerating France, whose inhabitants were to be forced to return to the two primitive occupations of the savage freeman, war and agriculture; the State was to educate the young from the tenderest years on the Spartan plan; marriage was to be controlled by the

ists there is no rest but in the tomb ;¹ a seagreen Robespierre converted into vinegar and gall ; much more an Amar and Vadier, a Collot and Billaud : to inquire what thoughts, predetermination or prevision, might be in the head of these men ! Record of their thought remains not ; Death and Darkness have swept it out utterly. Nay, if we even had their thought, all that they could have articulately spoken to us, how insignificant a fraction were that of the Thing which realised itself, which decreed itself, on signal given by them ! As has been said more than once, this Revolutionary Government is not a self-conscious but a blind fatal one. Each man, enveloped in his ambient-atmosphere of revolutionary fanatic Madness, rushes on, impelled and impelling ; and has become a blind brute Force ; no rest for him but in the grave ! Darkness and the mystery of horrid cruelty cover it for us, in History ; as they did in Nature. The chaotic Thunder-cloud, with its pitchy black, and its tumult of dazzling jagged fire, in a world all electric : thou wilt not undertake to show how that comported itself,—what the secrets of its dark womb were ; from what sources, with what specialities, the lightning it held did, in confused brightness of terror, strike forth, destructive and self-destructive, till it ended ? Like a Blackness naturally of Erebus, which by will of Providence had for once mounted itself into dominion and the Azure : is not this properly the nature of Sansculottism consummating itself ? Of which Erebus Blackness be it enough to discern that this and the other dazzling fire-bolt, dazzling fire-torrent, does by small Volition and great Necessity, verily issue,—in such and such succession ; destructive so and so, self-destructive so and so : till it end.

Royalism is extinct, 'sunk,' as they say, 'in the mud of the Loire ;' Republicanism dominates without and within : what,

State (which is to exercise its judgment in sexual selection) ; property was to be annually redistributed. No one really supported these chimerical views, but Robespierre, Couthon and Lebas gave them apparent support (*cf.* Stephens' Orators, ii. 418 ; Gros, 107 ; Von Sybel, iv. 15, 16).]

¹[The quotation from Saint-Just here given is in Montgaillard (iv. 244) ; he assigns no date or place to the remark.]

therefore, on the 15th day of March 1794, is this? ¹ Arrestment, sudden really as a bolt out of the Blue, has hit strange victims: Hébert *Père Duchesne*, Biblioplist Momoro, Clerk Vincent, General Ronsin; high Cordelier Patriots, redcapped Magistrates of Paris, Worshippers of Reason, Commanders of Revolutionary Army! Eight short days ago, their Cordelier Club was loud, and louder than ever, with Patriot denunciations. Hébert *Père Duchesne* had "held his tongue and his heart these two months, at sight of Moderates, Crypto-Aristocrats, Camilles, *Scélérats* in the Convention itself: but could not do it any longer; would, if other remedy were not, invoke the sacred right of Insurrection." So spake Hébert in Cordelier Session; with vivats, till the roofs rang again.² Eight short days ago; and now already! They rub their eyes: it is no dream; they find themselves in the Luxembourg. Goose Gobel too; and they that burnt Churches! Chaumette himself, potent Procureur, *Agent National* as they now call it, who could 'recognise the Suspect by the very face of them,' he lingers but three days; on the third day he too is hurled

¹[March 14th. The chronology of this and the succeeding pages is wild. The dates are these: Nov. 17th '93, first arrest of Hébert's 'tail' (at instance of Robespierre); early in December gradual attack of Dantonists, especially Phélippeaux, (i.) on Collot's cruelty at Lyons, (ii.) on the horrors committed in La Vendée, especially on Turreau, Ronsin, Rossignol (the *Vieux Cordelier* is a move in this direction); Dec. 20th, return of Collot from Lyons; end of Dec. and all January, struggles in Jacobin Club, Robespierre turning more and more against Danton; Feb. 2nd, release of Hébert's tail; Feb. 20th, return of Saint-Just from the North; Feb. 26th, his resolve to act against both Hébertists and Dantonists; March 14th, arrest of Hébert and all his party (this at first favourable to Danton (*vid. infr.*, iii. 175)); then ten days of great danger from the *Commune*, which would like to make an Insurrection to save Hébert; March 24th, execution of Hébert and his party; March 31st, arrest of Dantonists; April 5th, their execution.]

²*Moniteur* du 17 Ventose (March 7th) 1794. [Carlyle mixes them all up. The 'Hébertists' brought to trial on March 21st were not all Hébertists proper, e.g., Cloutz was not strictly of that party as Carlyle rightly says below (*vid.*, iii. 173); and not all the Hébertists or even their leaders were of that *fournée*, which comprised of them only Hébert, Ronsin, Momoro, Vincent, Kock, Proly, Desfieux, Pereira and Dubuisson.]

Chaumette was not arrested till April 4th and was brought to trial on 10th; with him were Gobel, the widows of Desmoulins and Hébert, Dillon, etc. (*Vid. infr.*, iii. 182; and see Campardon, i. 234, 295.)

The mistake in mixing Chaumette and Hébert's gang here is a very unfortunate one, because Chaumette was still *Procureur* of the *Commune* when, on March 6th, the Section of the *Cordeliers* came to the *Commune* declaring itself to be in Insurrection (*i.e.*, in favour of Hébert), and Chaumette rebuked them for this and also for veiling the Rights of Man, thus separating his cause from that of his old ally Hébert. (Martin, ii. 176.)]

in.¹ Most chopfallen, blue, enters the National Agent this Limbo whither he has sent so many. Prisoners crowd round, jibing and jeering; "Sublime National Agent," says one, "in virtue of thy immortal Proclamation, lo there! I am suspect, thou art suspect, he is suspect, we are suspect, ye are suspect, they are suspect!"²

The meaning of these things? Meaning! It is a Plot; Plot of the most extensive ramifications; which, however, Barrère holds the threads of. Such Church-burning and scandalous masquerades of Atheism, fit to make the Revolution odious: where indeed could they originate but in the gold of Pitt? Pitt indubitably, as Preternatural Insight will teach one, did hire this Faction of *Enragés*, to play their fantastic tricks; to roar in their Cordeliers Club about Moderatism; to print their *Père Duchesne*; worship skyblue Reason in red nightcap; rob all Altars,—and bring the spoil to us!

Still more indubitable, visible to the mere bodily sight, is this: that the Cordeliers Club sits pale, with anger and terror; and has 'veiled the Rights of Man,'—without effect.³ Likewise that the Jacobins are in considerable confusion; busy 'purging themselves, *s'épurant*,' as in times of Plot and public Calamity they have repeatedly had to do. Not even Camille Desmoulins but has given offence: nay there have risen murmurs against Danton himself; though he bellowed them down, and Robespierre finished the matter by 'embracing him in the Tribune.'⁴

¹[April 4th.]

²[This is from the 'Journal de la prison du Luxembourg,' p. 148.]

³[March 4th. Carlyle ignores the danger which this implied. The *Commune*, so far as it had any opinion other than desire for plunder for each of its members, was *solidaire* for Hébert. Pache the Maire undoubtedly inclined to him. Bouchotte at the war office had always played into the hands of this party, and all the antecedents of Hanriot looked the same way: finally the lowest type of gaol-bird and gutter-bird, the Septembrisers and the foreigners attracted to Paris for plunder, were all in that interest. M. Dauban in his Paris en 1794 (204-288) has collected a mass of evidence pointing to the gravity of the crisis. Yet now for the first time the Government, *i.e.*, the Committee, triumphed over an Insurrection, and without the threatened whiff of grapeshot. We learn from Schmidt (ii. 141) how very nearly Pache, Bouchotte, Hanriot and Santerre were sacrificed at the same time; but they probably turned government evidence, and were able to prove gigantic peculation against the Hébertists. The joy at Hébert's execution, even among those who had hung on his words most, was universal (*ibid.* 142-3).]

⁴[The *Épuration* at the Jacobin Club began in the middle of November. Every member's name was brought up, and the question of his 'pure patriotism'

Whom shall the Republic and a jealous Mother-Society trust? In these times of temptation, of Preternatural Insight! For there are Factions of the Stranger, '*de l'étranger*,' Factions of Moderates, of Enraged; all manner of Factions: we walk in a world of Plots; strings universally spread, of deadly gins and falltraps, baited by the gold of Pitt! Cloutz, Speaker of Mankind so-called, with his *Evidences of Mahometan Religion*, and babble of Universal Republic, him an incorruptible Robespierre has purged away. Baron Cloutz, and Paine rebellious Needleman lie, these two months, in the Luxembourg; limbs of the Faction *de l'étranger*. Representative Phélippeaux is purged out: he came back from La Vendée with an ill report in his mouth against rogue Rossignol, and our method of warfare there.¹ Recant it, O Phélippeaux, we entreat thee! Phélippeaux will not recant; and is purged out.² Representative Fabre d'Églantine, famed Nomenclator of Romme's Calendar, is purged out; nay, is cast into the Luxembourg:³ accused of Legislative Swindling 'in regard to moneys of the India Company.' There with his Chabots, Bazires, guilty of the like, let Fabre wait his destiny. And Westermann friend of Danton, he who led the Marseillaise on the Tenth of August, and fought well in La Vendée, but spoke not well of rogue Rossignol, is purged out. Lucky, if he too go not to the Luxembourg. And your Prolys, Guzmans, of the Faction of the Stranger, they have gone; Pereyra, though he fled, is 'taken in the disguise of a Tavern Cook.' I am suspect, thou art suspect, he is suspect!—

The great heart of Danton is weary of it. Danton is gone to

was discussed. Danton was 'tried' on Dec. 3rd, and only escaped being purged because Robespierre supported him. Camille was tried and also escaped purging (Dec. 14th) by the same protection. It was the publication of the *Vieux Cordelier*, No. 4, that led to Camille being cited again by the Club, and an inquiry being made into his conduct, together with that of Phélippeaux and Fabre: again on Jan. 7th he was just saved from purgation by Robespierre, but gravely blamed and ceased to attend the Club. Robespierre also was absent from the Club Feb. 15th—March 13th.]

¹[Dec. 24th.]

²[Phélippeaux was deputy for the Sarthe to Convention, a staunch friend of Danton and one of the most humane and sensible of the *Représentants en mission* (in La Vendée 1793). His complaints of the cruelties exercised there by the Republican Generals begin as early as Aug. 30th '93, and increase in fierceness till December, when he returned to Paris. (Aulard, Recueil, viii. ix. x. *passim*.)]

³[Jan. 12th.]

native Arcis, for a little breathing-time of peace :¹ Away, black Arachne-webs, thou world of Fury, Terror and Suspicion ; welcome, thou everlasting Mother, with thy spring greenness, thy kind household loves and memories ; true art thou, were all else untrue ! The great Titan walks silent, by the banks of the murmuring Aube, in young native haunts that knew him when a boy ; wonders what the end of these things may be.

But strangest of all, Camille Desmoulins is purged out.² Couthon gave as a test in regard to Jacobin purgation the question, 'What hast thou done to be hanged if Counter-Revolution 'should arrive ?' Yet Camille, who could so well answer this question, is purged out ! The truth is, Camille, early in December last, began publishing a new Journal, or Series of Pamphlets, entitled the *Vieux Cordelier*, old Cordelier. Camille, not afraid at one time to 'embrace Liberty on a heap of dead bodies,' begins to ask now, Whether among so many arresting and punishing Committees, there ought not to be a 'Committee of Mercy ?' Saint-Just, he observes, is an extremely solemn young Republican, who 'carries his head as if it were a *Saint-Sacrament*,' adorable Hostie, or divine Real-Presence ! Sharply enough, this *old Cordelier*,—Danton and he were of the earliest primary Cordeliers,—shoots his glittering war-shafts into your *new Cordeliers*, your Héberts, Momoros, with their brawling brutalities and despicabilities ; say as the Sun-god (for poor Camille is a Poet) shot into that Python Serpent, sprung of mud.

Whereat, as was natural, the Hébertist Python did hiss and writhe amazingly ; and threaten 'sacred right of Insurrection ;'—and, as we saw, get cast into Prison. Nay, with all the old wit, dexterity and light graceful poignancy, Camille, translating 'out of *Tacitus*, from the reign of Tiberius,' pricks into the *Law of the Suspect* itself ; making it odious ! Twice, in the Decade, his wild Leaves issue ; full of wit, nay of humour, of harmonious ingenuity and insight,—one of the strangest phenomena of that dark time ; and smite, in their wild-sparkling way, at various monstrosities,

¹[Not now, but Oct. 12th—Nov. 21st '93.] ²[No ; *vid. supr.*, note on iii. 171.]

Saint-Sacrament heads, and Juggernaut idols, in a rather reckless manner. To the great joy of Joséphine Beauharnais, and the other Five-thousand and odd Suspect, who fill the Twelve Houses of Arrest; on whom a ray of hope dawns! Robespierre, at first approbatory, knew not at last what to think; then thought, with his Jacobins, that Camille must be expelled. A man of true Revolutionary spirit, this Camille; but with the unwisest sallies; whom Aristocrats and Moderates have the art to corrupt! Jacobinism is in uttermost crisis and struggle; enmeshed wholly in plots, corruptibilities, neck-gins and baited falltraps of Pitt *Ennemi du Genre Humain*. Camille's First Number begins with 'O Pitt!—his last is dated 15 Pluviose Year 2, 3d February 1794; and ends with these words of Montezuma's, '*Les dieux ont soif, The gods are athirst.*'¹

Be this as it may, the Hébertists lie in Prison only some nine days. On the 24th of March, therefore, the Revolution Tumbrils carry through that Life-tumult a new cargo: Hébert, Vincent, Momoro, Ronsin, Nineteen of them in all; with whom, curious enough, sits Cloutz Speaker of Mankind. They have been massed swiftly into a lump, this miscellany of Nondescripts; and travel

¹['That bloodstained Goddess, whose high priests, Hébert and Momoro, etc., dare to demand a temple built of the bones of three million citizens, like that of Mexico; men who incessantly say to the Jacobins, the *Commune*, the *Cordeliers*, as the Spanish priests said to Montezuma, 'the Gods are athirst.' (Desmoulin's, *Œuvres*, i. 242.) But Camille misquotes his authority (Raynal, iii. 390, ed. 1780) as Carlyle misquotes Camille. The text of Raynal is "*Quand la paix avait duré quelque temps, les prêtres faisaient dire à l'empereur que les Dieux avaient faim* (the Gods were hungry), *et dans la seule vue de faire des prisonniers on recommençait la guerre.*"

In the 1st number of the *Vieux Cordelier* (Dec. 5th) Camille ridicules the *Commune*: the 3rd (Dec. 15th) denounces in fiery language the *Noyades* and *Mitraillasses*, the news of which was every day reaching Paris; the 4th (Dec. 20th) is the one which demands a Committee of Mercy; the 5th (Dec. 25th) gently rallied Barère as a weathercock, and openly attacked the Hébertists, calling Hébert an infamous scoundrel and thief; the 6th number continues in the same strain; it was these two last which Robespierre proposed at the Jacobins to burn, although he himself had been steadily flattered throughout the paper: 'Fire is no answer,' returned Camille. The 7th number, of which M. Henri Martin (ii. 173) said that it will ever remain one of the immortal monuments of French thought, spared no one; Robespierre, Committee men, and Hébertists alike are attacked. The publisher dared not publish it, but it is contained in the '*Œuvres de Desmoulin's*' (vol. i.) together with fragments of an 8th number. It is the 7th which contains the dialogue between two old *Cordeliers*, ending with the words '*les Dieux ont Soif.*']

now their last road. No help. They too must 'look through the little window;' they too must 'sneeze into the sack,' *éternuer dans le sac*; as they have done to others, so is it done to them. *Sainte-Guillotine*, meseems, is worse than the old Saints of Superstition; a man-devouring Saint? Clootz, still with an air of polished sarcasm, endeavours to jest, to offer cheering 'arguments of Materialism;' he requested to be executed last, 'in order to establish certain principles,'—which hitherto, I think, Philosophy has got no good of. General Ronsin too, he stills looks forth with some air of defiance, eye of command:¹ the rest are sunk in a stony paleness of despair. Momoro, poor Bibliopolist, no Agrarian Law yet realised,—they might as well have hanged thee at Évreux, twenty months ago, when Girondin Buzot hindered them. Hébert *Père Duchesne* shall never in this world rise in sacred right of insurrection; he sits there low enough, head sunk on breast; Red Nightcaps shouting round him, in frightful parody of his Newspaper Articles, "Grand choler of the *Père Duchesne*!" Thus perish they; the sack receives all their heads. Through some section of History, Nineteen spectre-chimeras shall flit, squeaking and gibbering; till Oblivion swallow them.

In the course of a week, the Revolutionary Army itself is disbanded;² the General having become spectral. This Faction of Rabids, therefore, is also purged from the Republican soil; here also the baited falltraps of that Pitt have been wrenched up harmless; and anew there is joy over a Plot Discovered. The Revolution then is verily devouring its own children? All Anarchy, by the nature of it, is not only destructive but *self*-destructive.

¹[Ronsin of the true Hébertist gang alone behaved with courage. Clootz was a fanatic and a madman, but undoubtedly brave: but he was no Hébertist. Hébert was insensible with terror. (Campardon, i. 247.)]

²[March 31st.]

CHAPTER II

DANTON, NO WEAKNESS

DANTON, meanwhile, has been pressingly sent for from Arcis :¹ he must return instantly, cried Camille, cried Phélippeaux and Friends, who scented danger in the wind. Danger enough ! A Danton, a Robespierre, chief-products of a victorious Revolution, are now arrived in immediate front of one another ; must ascertain how they will live together, rule together. One conceives easily the deep mutual incompatibility that divided these two : with what terror of feminine hatred the poor seagreen Formula looked at the monstrous colossal Reality, and grew greener to behold him ;—the Reality, again, struggling to think no ill of a chief-product of the Revolution ; yet feeling at bottom that such chief-product was little other than a chief windbag, blown large by Popular air ; not a man, with the heart of a man, but a poor spasmodic incorruptible pedant, with a logic-formula instead of heart ; of Jesuit or Methodist-Parson nature ; full of sincere-cant, incorruptibility, of virulence, poltroonery ; barren as the eastwind ! Two such chief-products are too much for one Revolution.

Friends, trembling at the results of a quarrel on their part, brought them to meet. "It is right," said Danton, swallowing much indignation, "to repress the Royalists : but we should not strike except where it is useful to the Republic ; we should not

¹[Danton left Paris Oct. 12th and returned Nov. 21st '93 ; it is a pity to represent his return as connected with the events of March '94. It seemed as if a current was setting in his favour at the date of the arrest of the Hébertists, for on March 18th Tallien was elected President of the Convention, and Legendre of the Jacobins ; and on the same day, on the demand of Bourdon de l'Oise, Héron, a favourite spy of Robespierre's, was arrested. But on 20th Héron was liberated again. It was not perhaps Robespierre who made up his mind to kill Danton : it was Billaud who in the Committee first said '*il faut tuer Danton,*' and it was on the night of March 23rd—24th that Robespierre at last gave way to Billaud and Saint-Just (Gros, p. 98). It was on the night of 30th—31st that Saint-Just read his report against the Dantonists (which he was to deliver in the Convention the next day) to the two Committees in united session. All signed this report except Lindet and Ruhl (Robinet, Procès des Dantonists, 123). The trial has been minutely described by Dr. Robinet. M. Sorel however to my mind sees the true greatness of Danton better than this professional apologist. Dr. Robinet is too ardent a believer in the entire 'legend of the Revolution,' and too unreasoning a hater of all forms of religion to be able to be quite fair ; but his condemnation of the 'retrograde movement,' after April 5th '94, is excellent.]

confound the innocent and the guilty.”—“And who told you,” replied Robespierre with a poisonous look, “that one innocent person had perished?”—“*Quoi*,” said Danton, turning round to Friend Pâris self-named Fabricius, Juryman in the Revolutionary Tribunal: “*Quoi*, not one innocent? What sayest thou of it, Fabricius!”¹—Friends, Westermann, this Pâris and others urged him to show himself, to ascend the Tribune and act. The man Danton was not prone to show himself; to act, or uproar for his own safety. A man of careless, large, hoping nature; a large nature that could rest: he would sit whole hours, they say, hearing Camille talk, and liked nothing so well. Friends urged him to fly; his Wife urged him: “Whither fly?” answered he: “If freed France cast me out, there are only dungeons for me elsewhere. One carries not his country with him at the sole of his shoe!” The man Danton sat still. Not even the arrestment of Friend Hérault, a member of *Salut*,² yet arrested by *Salut*, can rouse Danton.—On the night of the 30th of March Juryman Pâris came rushing in; haste looking through his eyes: A clerk of the *Salut* Committee had told him Danton’s warrant was made out, he is to be arrested this very night! Entreaties there are and trepidation, of poor Wife, of Pâris and Friends: Danton sat silent for a while; then answered, “*Ils n’oseraient*, They dare not;” and would take no measures. Murmuring “They dare not,” he goes to sleep as usual.³

And yet, on the morrow morning,⁴ strange rumour spreads over Paris City: Danton, Camille, Phélippeaux, Lacroix have been arrested overnight!⁵ It is verily so: the corridors of the

¹ Biographie des Ministres, § Danton, Brussels 1826. [The tradition of this meeting at Charenton comes from Lacretelle, and is not confirmed elsewhere; the *Biographie des Ministres* places it after the arrest of Fabre (Jan. 13th).]

² [Hérault had resigned his place in the Committee Dec. 29th '93: he was arrested March 15th.]

³ [Carlyle mixes up Pâris with Panis the old Septemberer. It was Panis who came to Danton’s lodging late on 30th, and urged him to fly. Lindet also sent him warning (evidently direct from the Committee-meeting, see Robinet, 125). Félix Pâris had been one of Danton’s subordinates in Belgium: he got leave to change his name to Fabricius after the assassination of Lepelletier by Paris. He escaped during the Terror, and became *greffier* of *Tribunal* in Jan. '95.]

⁴ [March 31st.]

⁵ [The warrant declares these four to be arrested as accomplices of Fabre d’Églantine (*ibid.* 124, *vid.* next page).]

Luxembourg were all crowded, Prisoners crowding forth to see this giant of the Revolution enter among them. "Messieurs," said Danton politely, "I hoped soon to have got you all out of this: but here I am myself; and one sees not where it will end."—Rumour may spread over Paris: the Convention clusters itself into groups; wide-eyed, whispering, "Danton arrested!" Who then is safe? Legendre, mounting the Tribune, utters, at his own peril, a feeble word for him; moving that he be heard at that Bar before indictment; but Robespierre frowns him down: "Did you hear Chabot, or Bazire? Would you have two weights and measures?" Legendre cowers low: Danton, like the others, must take his doom.¹

Danton's Prison-thoughts were curious to have; but are not given in any quantity: indeed few such remarkable men have been left so obscure to us as this Titan of the Revolution. He was heard to ejaculate: "This time twelvemonth, I was moving the creation of that same Revolutionary Tribunal. I crave pardon for it of God and man. They are all Brothers Cain; Brissot would have had me guillotined as Robespierre now will. I leave the whole business in a frightful welter (*gâchis épouvantable*): not one of them understands anything of government. Robespierre will follow me; I drag down Robespierre. O, it were better to be a poor fisherman than to meddle with governing of men."²—Camille's young beautiful Wife, who had made him rich not in money alone, hovers round the Luxembourg, like a dis-

¹[Legendre's motion was not put to the vote, as Robespierre spoke most furiously against Danton, and Barère followed on the same side. Saint-Just then began to read his report, which he had read to the Committee the night before: it was a long string of supposed crimes, for which Robespierre had given him notes; one is amazed that the Convention listened to such absurdities (*see* Stephens' Orators, ii. 253, *sqq.*), but (i.) the Centre was paralysed by fear, and Robespierre was posing as its protector against the *Montagnards*, (ii.) the Centre also probably regarded Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Billaud and Barère with equal horror, and thought the sooner they massacred each other the better.]

²[Dr. Robinet rejects the story of his having asked pardon of God and man for creating the *Tribunal*: but Campardon (ii. 260) accepts it, and places it at the *Conciergerie*, not at the *Luxembourg*. We learn from the 'Mémoires sur les Prisons' (ii. 152) that Camille brought with him to the *Luxembourg* two English books, Young's Night Thoughts and Hervey's Meditations, and from the same source that Danton spoke kindly to Tom Paine in English (Tom Paine being one of the first people he met in the prison; *ibid.* 154.)]

embodied spirit, day and night. Camille's stolen letters to her still exist; stained with the mark of his tears.¹ "I carry my head like a Saint-Sacrament?" so Saint-Just was heard to mutter: "perhaps he will carry his like a Saint-Denis."

Unhappy Danton, thou still unhappier light Camille, once light *Procureur de la Lanterne*, ye also have arrived, then, at the Bourne of Creation, where, like Ulysses Polytlas at the limit and utmost Gades of his voyage, gazing into that dim Waste beyond Creation, a man does see *the Shade of his Mother*, pale, ineffectual;²—and days when his Mother nursed and wrapped him are all-too sternly contrasted with this day! Danton, Camille, Hérault, Westermann, and the others, very strangely massed up with Bazires, Swindler Chabots, Fabre d'Églantines, Banker Freys, a most motley Batch, 'Fournée' as such things will be called, stand ranked at the Bar of Tinville. It is the 2d of April 1794. Danton has had but three days to lie in Prison; for the time presses.³

What is your name? place of abode? and the like, Fouquier

¹Aperçus sur Camille Desmoulins (in *Vieux Cordelier*, Paris, 1825), pp. 1-29. [The letter never reached Lucile—Camille gave it to Beaurepaire before leaving the *Luxembourg*, with instructions to send it on. Lucile was guillotined before this could happen, and Beaurepaire gave the letter to Jules Paré, in whose possession it remained (Campardon, ii. 254).

The *Aperçus* are a reprint in Berville and Barrière (1825) of the first 28 pages of the *Vieux Cordelier*, and the remark of Saint-Just is given in a note on p. 19, and is said to have been in answer to a letter of Camille's to a friend, which was printed and hawked in the streets, in which he said that Saint-Just carried his head as if it were the Host.]

²[Ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ μητρὸς κατατεθνήσκει (Odyssey, xi. 84).]

³[Fabre had been arrested on Jan. 12th, and was at the *Luxembourg*. On March 19th the Convention ordered him to be sent to the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, and on March 26th the act of accusation was made out against him, Chabot, Bazire, Julien and Delaunay, alleging a conspiracy to destroy the Republic. (Robinet, *Procès*, 125.) Westermann was not arrested till April 2nd, and did not appear before the *Tribunal* till 3rd (*ibid.* 361). Delaunay, Julien and the Abbé L'Espagnac were condemned for corruption, *agiotage* and forgery, Chabot for manipulating the shares of the *Compagnie des Indes* and for wholesale speculation, Bazire for complicity in, or at least silence about, the same; Dr. Robinet considers the guilt of most of these persons proved, but is more doubtful about the brothers Frey, who had been army contractors in Belgium and who were accused of being foreign spies. It is obvious that this whole batch was brought together in order to discredit Danton, and to colour the charge of venality, which was pushed home against him (*ibid.* 396 sqq.).]

asks; according to formality.¹ "My name is Danton," answers he; "a name tolerably known in the Revolution: my abode will soon be Annihilation (*dans le Néant*); but I shall live in the Pantheon of History." A man will endeavour to say something forcible, be it by nature or not! Hérault mentions epigrammatically that he "sat in this Hall, and was detested of Parlemeuteers." Camille makes answer, "My age is that of the *bon Sansculotte Jésus*; an age fatal to Revolutionists." O Camille, Camille! And yet in that Divine Transaction, let us say, there did lie, among other things, the fatallest Reproof ever uttered here below to worldly Right-honourableness; 'the highest fact,' so devout Novalis calls it, 'in the Rights of Man.' Camille's real age, it would seem, is thirty-four. Danton is one year older.

Some five months ago, the Trial of the Twenty-two Girondins was the greatest that Fouquier had then done. But here is a still greater to do; a thing which tasks the whole faculty of Fouquier; which makes the very heart of him waver. For it is the voice of Danton that reverberates now from these domes; in passionate words, piercing with their wild sincerity, winged with wrath. Your best Witnesses he shivers into ruin at one stroke. He demands that the Committee-men themselves come as Witnesses, as Accusers; he "will cover them with ignominy." He raises his huge stature, he shakes his huge black head, fire flashes from the eyes of him,—piercing to all Republican hearts: so that the very Galleries, though we filled them by ticket, murmur sympathy; and are like to burst down, and raise the People, and deliver him! He complains loudly that he is classed with Chabots, with swindling Stockjobbers; that his Indictment is a list of platitudes and horrors.² "Danton hidden on the 10th of

¹[April 2nd was entirely taken up with swearing in the jury and reading the act of accusation: it was on the 3rd that Danton's famous answer was made as to his name, and his defence begun and cut short.]

²[The heads of the accusation may be roughly summed up:—

(1) Venality to the Court, by the channel of Montmorin.

(2) Peculation of the monies granted for his mission to Belgium.

(3) Participation in Dumouriez's treason.

(4) Hostility to May 31st and June 2nd.

(5) Complicity with the Baron de Batz (1).

His defence is weakest on No. 2. On No. 4 he hardly cares to defend himself at all. (Robinet, 189 *sqq.*)

August?" reverberates he, with the roar of a lion in the toils: "where are the men that had to press Danton to show himself, that day? Where are these high-gifted souls of whom he borrowed energy? Let them appear, these Accusers of mine: I have all the clearness of my self-possession when I demand them. I will unmask the three shallow scoundrels," *les trois plats coquins*, Saint-Just, Couthon, Lebas, "who fawn on Robespierre, and lead him towards his destruction.¹ Let them produce themselves here; I will plunge them into Nothingness, out of which they ought never to have risen." The agitated President agitates his bell; enjoins calmness, in a vehement manner: "What is it to thee how I defend myself?" cries the other: "the right of *dooming* me is thine always. The voice of a man speaking for his honour and his life may well drown the jingling of thy bell!" Thus Danton, higher and higher; till the lion-voice of him 'dies away in his throat:'² speech will not utter what is in that man. The Galleries murmur ominously; the first day's Session is over.

O Tinville, President Herman, what will ye do? They have two days more of it, by strictest Revolutionary Law. The Galleries already murmur. If this Danton were to burst your meshwork!—Very curious indeed to consider. It turns on a hair: and what a Hoitytoity were *there*, Justice and Culprit changing places; and the whole History of France running changed! For in France there is this Danton only that could still try to govern France. He only, the wild amorphous Titan;—and perhaps that other olive-complexioned individual, the Artillery-Officer at Toulon, whom we left pushing his fortune in the South?

On the evening of the second day,³ matters looking not better but worse and worse, Fouquier and Herman, distraction in their aspect, rush over to *Salut Public*. What is to be done? *Salut Public* rapidly concocts a new Decree; whereby if men 'in-

¹[Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, p. 281 *sqq.* Carlyle does not mention that Danton's defence was stopped by Herman on 3rd under pretext that there wouldn't be time to hear the other prisoners. It was resumed on 4th but he said little, and that day was mainly taken up with the defences of Camille and Héroult.]

²[Campardon (ii. 269) says that Danton's voice rang so loud that it was heard by the crowd outside, and even across the river.]

³[April 4th.]

sult Justice,' they may be 'thrown out of the Debates.' For indeed, withal, is there not 'a Plot in the Luxembourg Prison?' *Ci-devant* General Dillon, and others of the Suspect, plotting with Camille's Wife to distribute *assignats*; to force the Prisons, over-set the Republic? Citizen Laflotte, himself Suspect but desiring enfranchisement, has reported said Plot for us:—a report that may bear fruit! Enough, on the morrow morning, an obedient Convention passes this Decree. *Salut* rushes off with it to the aid of Tinville, reduced now almost to extremities.¹ And so, *Hors de Débats*, Out of the Debates, ye insolents! Policemen do your duty! In such manner, with a dead-lift effort, *Salut*, Tinville, Herman, Leroi *Dix Août*, and all stanch jurymen setting heart and shoulder to it, the Jury becomes 'sufficiently instructed;' Sentence is passed, is sent by an Official, and torn and trampled on: *Death this day*. It is the 5th of April 1794. Camille's poor Wife may cease hovering about this Prison. Nay, let her kiss her poor children; and prepare to enter it, and to follow!—

Danton carried a high look in the Death-cart. Not so Camille: it is but one week, and all is so topsyturvied; angel Wife left weeping; love, riches, Revolutionary fame, left all at the Prison-gate; carnivorous Rabble now howling round. Palpable, and yet incredible; like a madman's dream! Camille struggles and writhes; his shoulders shuffle the loose coat off them, which hangs knotted, the hands tied: "Calm, my friend," said Danton; "heed not that vile canaille (*laissez là cette vile canaille*)."¹ At the foot of the Scaffold, Danton was heard to ejaculate: "O my Wife, my well-beloved, I shall never see thee more then!"—but, interrupting himself: "Danton, no weakness!" He said to Hérault-Séchelles stepping forward to embrace him: "Our heads will meet *there*," in the Headsman's sack. His last words were to

¹[April 5th. Fouquier and Herman did not 'rush over,' but wrote a letter which is printed in Robinet (p. 177); it calls the prisoners *forcens*; it was Saint-Just who read the letter to the Convention, and tacked on to it the story about the 'plot in the prison.' Billaud followed, with Laflotte's denunciation of the same imaginary plot. The decree of the Convention was passed without a dissentient voice and brought to Fouquier by Amar on the evening of the 4th. It was at a fresh session on the morning of the 5th that the decree was notified to the prisoners and the verdict given (Robinet in *loc. cit.*.)]

Samson the Headsman himself: "Thou wilt show my head to the people; it is worth showing."

So passes, like a gigantic mass, of valour, ostentation, fury, affection and wild revolutionary force and manhood, this Danton, to his unknown home. He was of Arcis-sur-Aube; born of 'good farmer-people' there. He had many sins; but one worst sin he had not, that of Cant. No hollow Formalist, deceptive and self-deceptive, *ghastly* to the natural sense, was this; but a very Man: with all his dross he was a Man; fiery-real, from the great fire-bosom of Nature herself. He saved France from Brunswick; he walked straight his own wild road, whither it led him. He may live for some generations in the memory of men.¹

CHAPTER III

THE TUMBRILS

NEXT week, it is still but the 10th of April, there comes a new Nineteen; Chaumette, Gobel, Hébert's Widow, the Widow of Camille: these also roll their fated journey; black Death devours them. Mean Hébert's Widow was weeping, Camille's Widow tried to speak comfort to her. O ye kind Heavens, azure, beautiful, eternal behind your tempests and Time-clouds, is there not pity in store for all! Gobel, it seems, was repentant; he begged absolution of a Priest; died as a Gobel best could.² For Anaxagoras Chaumette, the sleek head now stript of its *bonnet rouge*, what hope is there? Unless Death *were* 'an eternal sleep?' Wretched Anaxagoras, God shall judge thee, not I.

Hébert, therefore, is gone, and the Hébertists; they that robbed Churches, and adored blue Reason in red nightcap. Great Danton, and the Dantonists; they also are gone. Down to the

¹[Morris to Washington (April 18th): 'The fall of Danton seems to terminate 'the idea of a triumvirate' (which Morris had expected as a step to Dictatorship). 'The chief, who would have been in such case one of his colleagues, (Robespierre) 'has wisely put out of the way a dangerous competitor. Hence it seems that the 'way must be through the *Comité de Salut Public*, unless indeed the Army should 'interfere; but as to the Army no character seems as yet to have appeared with 'any prominent feature.']

²[This is confirmed in Campardon (i. 393), as is also the firmness of Lucile Desmoulins,]

catacombs; they are become silent men! Let no Paris Municipality, no Sect or Party of this hue or that, resist the will of Robespierre and *Salut*. Mayor Pache, not prompt enough in denouncing these Pitt Plots, may congratulate about them now. Never so heartily; it skills not! His course likewise is to the Luxembourg. We appoint one Fleuriot-Lescot Interim-Mayor in his stead: an 'architect from Belgium,' they say, this Fleuriot; he is a man one can depend on. Our new Agent-National is Payan, lately Juryman; whose cynosure also is Robespierre.¹

Thus then, we perceive, this confusedly electric Erebus-cloud of Revolutionary Government has altered its shape somewhat. Two masses, or wings, belonging to it; an over-electric mass of Cordelier Rabids, and an under-electric of Dantonist Moderates and Clemency-men,—these two masses, shooting bolts at one another, so to speak, have annihilated one another. For the Erebus-cloud, as we often remark, is of suicidal nature; and, in jagged irregularity, darts its lightning withal into itself. But now these two discrepant masses being mutually annihilated, it is as if the Erebus-cloud had got to internal composure; and did only pour its hellfire lightning on the World that lay under it. In plain words, Terror of the Guillotine was never terrible till now. Systole, diastole, swift and ever swifter goes the Axe of Samson. Indictments cease by degrees to have so much as plausibility: Fouquier chooses from the Twelve Houses of Arrest what he calls Batches, '*Fournées*,' a score or more at a time; his

¹[May 10th. The *Commune* had lost all its force with the fall of Chaumette and the Hébertists; the new members were entirely creatures of Robespierre, and only lifted their head for a moment when he was attacked at Thermidor: even to his voice the *Commune* was deaf at times, *e.g.*, when, at the end of Messidor, he persuaded Fleuriot to call a meeting of Section Committees, contrary to the law of 14th Frimaire; the Committee prohibited it and the *Commune* yielded.

Fleuriot-Lescot, born at Brussels 1761, had been one of Fouquier's substitutes on the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*: nominated *Maire*, to replace Pache, May 10th, executed 10th Thermidor.

Payan, born 1766, had been also a judge in the *Tribunal*; was executed 10th Thermidor. Shortly before this time (April 1st) the Executive Council (and therewith the corrupt War Office) had been suppressed, and was replaced (April 20th) by twelve "Executive Commissions" of Government, more absolutely at the disposal of the Committee than the Council had been; their heads were mere nonentities, and Masson (*Affaires Étrangères*, 312) quotes an excellent story of how Buchot, the *soi-disant* head of the new Foreign Office, had to be fetched from a neighbouring billiard-café when there were any papers to sign.]

Jurymen are charged to make *feu de file*, file-firing till the ground be clear. Citizen Laflotte's report of Plot in the Luxembourg is verily bearing fruit! If no speakable charge exist against a man, or Batch of men, Fouquier has always this: a Plot in the Prison. Swift and ever swifter goes Samson; up, finally, to three score and more at a Batch. It is the highday of Death: none but the Dead return not.

O dusky D'Espréménil, what a day is this, the 22d of April, thy last day! The Palais Hall here is the same stone Hall, where thou, five years ago, stoodest perorating, amid endless pathos of rebellious Parlement, in the gray of the morning; bound to march with D'Agoust to the Isles of Hières. The stones are the same stones: but the rest, Men, Rebellion, Pathos, Peroration, see! it has all fled, like a gibbering troop of ghosts, like the phantasms of a dying brain. With D'Espréménil, in the same line of Tumbrils, goes the mournfullest medley. Chapelier goes, *ci-devant* popular President of the Constituent; whom the Menads and Maillard met in his carriage, on the Versailles Road.¹ Thouret likewise, *ci-devant* President, father of Constitutional Law-acts; he whom we heard saying, long since, with a loud voice, "The Constituent Assembly has fulfilled its mission!" And the noble old Malesherbes, who defended Louis and could not speak, like a gray old rock dissolving into sudden water: he journeys here now, with his kindred, daughters, sons and grandsons, his Lamoignons, Châteaubriands;² silent, towards Death.—One young Châteaubriand alone is wandering amid the Natchez,³ by the roar of

¹[It is of d'Épréménil and Chapelier (the extreme partisan of the *Ancien Régime* and the advanced liberal of '89 respectively) that the fine story is told by Riouffe (p. 86) how, as they were going to execution, the latter asked the former "Which of us is the crowd hissing?" and d'Épréménil rightly answered 'Both.']

²[The Parlemeuteers were guillotined in consequence of a secret protest, signed by a great number of members of the old *Parlements*, and deposited in the hands of Rosambo (President of the *Chambre des Vacances*), against the decree of Oct. 4th '90, which abolished the *Parlements*. This paper fell into the hands of the *Comité de Sûreté Générale* when Rosambo was denounced by his Section. The amnesty of Sept. 14th '91 ought to have covered it; it had been invoked to pardon the *Château-Vieux* Swiss and the massacres of Avignon, but the Radicals naturally did not allow such justice to their enemies. Twenty-six persons were executed for it on April 20th; Malesherbes and his kindred two days afterwards; d'Épréménil had not signed the protest (*vid.* Mortimer-Ternaux, i. 301, *sqq.*; Campardon, i. 305).]

³[François Auguste, Comte de Châteaubriand, born 1768, came to Paris to begin a literary career, 1790; went to America Jan. '91; returned at the date of the

Niagara Falls, the moan of endless forests: Welcome thou great Nature, savage, but not false, not unkind, unmotherly; no Formula thou, or rabid jangle of Hypothesis, Parliamentary Eloquence, Constitution-building and the Guillotine; speak thou to me, O Mother, and sing my sick heart thy mystic everlasting lullaby-song, and let all the rest be far!—

Another row of Tumbrils we must notice: that which holds Elizabeth, the Sister of Louis.¹ Her Trial was like the rest; for Plots, for Plots.² She was among the kindest, most innocent of women. There sat with her, amid four-and-twenty others, a once timorous Marchioness de Crussol; courageous now; expressing towards her the liveliest loyalty. At the foot of the Scaffold, Elizabeth with tears in her eyes thanked this Marchioness; said she was grieved she could not reward her. “Ah, Madame, would your Royal Highness deign to embrace me, my wishes were complete!”—“Right willingly, Marquise de Crussol, and with my whole heart.”³ Thus they: at the foot of the Scaffold. The Royal Family is now reduced to two:⁴ a girl and a little boy.

King's suspension after Varennes, July 1791; emigrated to serve with the Prussian army, and was wounded at the siege of Thionville; retired to England and lived in great want till 1797, when he published his 'Essay on Revolutions,' the first note towards his more famous 'Génie du Christianisme' (1802). He returned to France 1801; became secretary of the embassy at Rome under the Consulate, resigned on the news of d'Enghien's murder; wandered all over the near East till 1814, when he aided the Restoration of Louis XVIII. He refused to serve the Monarchy of 1830, died in 1848.

He was thus certainly not “wandering amid the Natchez” at the date of Malesherbes' execution.]

¹[Madame Élisabeth was the youngest child of the Dauphin, born 1764. There was at one time a talk of her marriage with an Infante of Portugal, at another to the Duc d'Aosta, at another to Joseph II.; in 1781 the King presented her with the little estate of Guéménée in Versailles, and she spent most of her days there, largely occupied with charitable work, returning to sleep at the *Château*. She accompanied the Royal Family with the most faithful devotion in all the troubles of '89, '90, '91, '92, '93. In the Temple she at first shared a room with Mme de Tourzel: on Oct. 26th '92 she, with the Queen and the children, was transferred to the Great Tower. That she and the Queen sometimes disagreed is not unlikely, but has never been proved, and to her the last and most affectionate letter of the Queen was written on the morning of her death. (See *Vie de Mme Élisabeth*, by M. de Beauchesne, Paris, 1869; *La Vraie Marie Antoinette*, by M. de Lescure, Paris, 1863; Campardon, i. 314.)]

²[May 10th.]

³Montgaillard, iv. 200. [The Marquis de Crussol (of the Vivarais) was of the same family as the great house of Uzès. His wife was executed with Madame Élisabeth, and he on July 26th (the eve of Thermidor).]

⁴[See note at end of chapter.]

The boy, once named Dauphin, was taken from his Mother while she yet lived; and given to one Simon, by trade a Cordwainer, on service then about the Temple-Prison, to bring him up in principles of Sansculottism. Simon taught him to drink, to swear, to sing the *carmagnole*. Simon is now gone to the Municipality: and the poor boy, hidden in a tower of the Temple, from which in his fright and bewilderment and early decrepitude he wishes not to stir out, lies perishing, 'his shirt not changed for six months;' amid squalor and darkness, lamentably,¹—so as none but poor Factory Children and the like are wont to perish, and *not* be lamented!

The Spring sends its green leaves and bright weather, bright May, brighter than ever: Death pauses not. Lavoisier, famed Chemist, shall die and not live:² Chemist Lavoisier was Farmer-General Lavoisier too, and now 'all the Farmers-General are arrested;' all, and shall give an account of their moneys and incomings; and die for 'putting water in the tobacco' they sold. Lavoisier begged a fortnight more of life, to finish some experiments: but "the Republic does not need such;" the axe must do its work.³ Cynic Chamfort, reading these inscriptions of *Brotherhood or Death*, says "it is a Brotherhood of Cain:" arrested, then liberated; then about to be arrested again, this Chamfort cuts and slashes himself with frantic uncertain hand; gains, not without difficulty, the refuge of death.⁴ Condorcet has lurked deep, these many months; Argus-eyes watching and searching for him. His concealment is become dangerous to others and himself; he has to fly again, to skulk, round Paris, in thickets and stone-quarries. And so at the Village of Clamars, one bleared May⁵

¹ Duchesse d'Angoulême, *Captivité à la Tour du Temple*, pp. 37-71.

²[May 8th.]

³Trib. Rév. du 8 Mai 1794, *Moniteur* No. 231. [There were two 'batches' of Farmers-General; Lavoisier was in the first with 27 others. It was Coffinhal, the President of the *Tribunal* at Lavoisier's trial, who answered him that "the Republic had no need of chemists." It was neither witty nor true, for the Convention Committees were exhausting all their energy to find men of science to serve them, e.g., in the making of gunpowder (*vid. supr.*, iii. 151).]

⁴[April 13th.]

⁵[Condorcet's arrest was ordered Aug. 10th '93; but he escaped and remained hid in Paris, which he had only left a few days before he was taken at Clamars]

morning, there enters a Figure, ragged, rough-bearded, hunger-stricken; asks breakfast in the tavern there. Suspect, by the look of him! "Servant out of place, sayest thou?" Committee-President of Forty-Sous finds a Latin Horace on him: "Art thou not one of those *Ci-devants* that were wont to keep servants? *Suspect!*" He is haled forthwith, breakfast unfinished, towards Bourg-la-Reine, on foot: he faints with exhaustion; is set on a peasant's horse; is flung into his damp prison-cell: on the morrow, recollecting him, you enter; Condorcet lies dead on the floor.¹ They die fast, and disappear: the Notabilities of France disappear, one after one, like lights in a Theatre, which you are snuffing out.

Under which circumstances, is it not singular, and almost touching, to see Paris City drawn out, in the meek May nights, in civic ceremony, which they call '*Souper Fraternel*,' Brotherly Supper? Spontaneous, or partially spontaneous, in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth nights of this May month, it is seen. Along the Rue Saint-Honoré, and main Streets and Spaces, each Citoyen brings forth what of supper the stingy *Maximum* has yielded him, to the open air; joins it to his neighbour's supper; and with common table, cheerful light burning frequent, and what due modicum of cut-glass and other garnish and relish is convenient, they eat frugally together, under the kind stars.² See it, O Night! With cheerfully pledged wine-cup, hobnobbing to the Reign of Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood, with their wives in best ribands, with their little ones romping round, the Citoyens, in frugal Love-feast, sit there. Night in her wide empire sees nothing similar. O my brothers, why is the reign of Brotherhood

March 27th (not May), going by the name of Pierre Simon. During his captivity he wrote his '*Tableau des Progrès de l'Esprit humain*' (Rev. de la Rév. x. ii. 103).]

¹[April 9th.]

²Tableaux de la Révolution, § Soupers Fraternels; Mercier ii. 150. [The origin of these seems to have been in the *Repas Civique* held on Aug. 10th '93, designed to win over the *Fédérés* who had come to Paris to accept the Constitution. These fraternal banquets seem to play no great part in the history of the streets, they degenerated into drunken orgies, and were suppressed at the end of the Terror. (See Dauban, Paris en 1793 (306), where a contemporary engraving representing one is given.)]

not come; It is come, it shall have come, say the Citoyens frugally hobnobbing.—Ah me! these everlasting stars, do they not look down ‘like glistening eyes, bright with immortal pity, over the lot of man!’—

One lamentable thing, however, is, that individuals will attempt assassination—of Representatives of the People. Representative Collot, Member even of *Salut*, returning home, ‘about one in the morning,’¹ probably touched with liquor, as he is apt to be, meets on the stairs the cry “*Scélérat!*” and also the snap of a pistol: which latter flashes in the pan; disclosing to him, momentarily, a pair of truculent saucer-eyes, swart grim-clenched countenance; recognisable as that of our little fellow-lodger, Citoyen Amiral, formerly ‘a clerk in the Lotteries!’ Collot shouts *Murder*, with lungs fit to awaken all the *Rue Favart*; Amiral snaps a second time; a second time flashes in the pan; then darts up into his apartment; and, after there firing, still with inadequate effect, one musket at himself and another at his captor, is clutched and locked in Prison.² An indignant little man this Amiral, of Southern temper and complexion, of ‘considerable muscular force.’ He denies not that he meant to “purge France of a Tyrant;” nay avows that he had an eye to the Incorruptible himself, but took Collot as more convenient!

Rumour enough hereupon; heaven-high congratulation of Collot, fraternal embracing, at the Jacobins and elsewhere. And yet, it would seem, the assassin mood proves catching. Two days more, it is still but the 23d of May, and towards nine in the evening, Cécile Renault, Paper-dealer’s daughter, a young woman of soft blooming look, presents herself at the Cabinet-maker’s in the Rue Saint-Honoré; desires to see Robespierre. Robespierre cannot be seen; she grumbles irreverently. They lay hold of her. She has left a basket in a shop hard by: in the basket are

¹ [May 23rd.]

² Riouffe, p. 73; Deux Amis, xii. 298-302. [Collot lived in Rue Favart, No. 4. Amiral declared at his interrogatory that he had been at the Convention that morning with intent to assassinate Robespierre (Campardon, i. 351). He was four times interrogated, and brought to trial with a large batch June 17th.]

female change of raiment and two knives! Poor Cécile, examined by Committee, declares she "wanted to see what a tyrant was like:" the change of raiment was "for my own use in the place I am surely going to."—"What place?"—"Prison; and then the Guillotine," answered she. Such things come of Charlotte Corday; in a people prone to imitation, and monomania! Swart choleric men try Charlotte's feat, and their pistols miss fire; soft blooming young woman try it, and, only half-resolute, leave their knives in a shop.¹

O Pitt, and ye Faction of the Stranger, shall the Republic never have rest; but be torn continually by baited springes, by wires of explosive spring-guns? Swart Amiral, fair young Cécile, and all that knew them, and many that did not know them, lie locked, waiting the scrutiny of Tinville.

¹[Cécile Renault was only 21; she was interrogated on 24th; her words above quoted were 'I desire a King, because I prefer one tyrant to 50,000; and I only went to see Robespierre in order to see what a tyrant was like;' the knives were found on her person, the raiment in a basket at the shop; she owned to no connection with Amiral, and none is probable, but she knew him by sight; out of the two "assassinations" the Government made a vast plot, and 52 persons were brought to trial on June 17th, among them some of Batz's subordinates, in the hope that they would betray their chief.

It was after this trial that the symptoms of discontent in the respectable parts of Paris caused the transference of the Guillotine to the East end (Place du Trône) (*vid. infr.*, iii. 195), but already, on the *Fête* of January 21st, 1794, the oxen yoked to one of the allegorical cars had refused to draw their load past the place where the guillotine was wont to stand, though it had been removed for the day and all traces of blood washed away. (*See A. Houssaye, Notre Dame de Thermidor, p. 320.*)

[Note on "the Royal Family is now reduced to two" (*supra*, iii. 185).

The Dauphin, or Louis XVII., was the second son of Louis XVI. (*vid. note supra*, i. 41). There is a most interesting letter from the Queen to Mme de Tourzel written in July '89, when the prince was four, pointing out the merits and defects of his character, his extreme sensitiveness, backwardness at lessons, childish pride and gaiety, but somewhat delicate health, for which she recommends constant play in the open air (La Vraie Marie Antoinette, Lescuré, 95 *sqq.*). Arthur Young saw the boy gardening in the Tuileries, Jan. 1790. The Dauphin shared the fortunes of his family down to the separation in the Temple. His father made *him* swear, the other members of the family only promise, that they would not seek to avenge his death. He was proclaimed King of France by the Comte de Provence in Jan. 1793, and by the English at Toulon in the following August: on July 3rd he was separated from his mother and given to Simon and his wife (a working cobbler and an uneducated domestic servant, who had been neighbours and *protégés* of Marat). Many stories were current about the plots for the liberation of the Temple prisoners, and as many of Simon's stupid brutality towards the young prince. It seems to have been the object of the Government that the boy should die a *natural* death as soon as possible. He waited on Simon as a servant, was often cruelly beaten and was accustomed to hear filthy songs and language. On Oct. 6th 1793, after a heavy drugging with brandy, his signature was obtained to the

accusation of indecency which the leaders of the *Commune* (Hébert in particular) wished to bring against his mother at her trial; again on Oct. 26th to a similar accusation against his aunt (*vid. supr.*, iii. 99). Illness began to appear in the boy in September '93, somnambulism and 'night terrors' in the winter. Simon wearied of the job, and resigned his charge in Jan. '94. From that time till 9th Thermidor (6 months) no guardian was appointed, and the child was in solitary confinement in a ground-floor room, without light and oftenest without fire: his meals were passed in to him by a grating: he was supposed to remove his own ordures and pass them out by the same grating, but appears to have been too feeble to do so. He was occasionally visited by Convention Commissioners with the sole motive of seeing that he was alive. After Thermidor he at once obtained better treatment; a respectable guardian called Laurent was appointed, who found the child covered with sores and vermin, the odour of the cell pestilential, and the only answer given, "*Je veux mourir.*" He was now removed to a better apartment and allowed to take the air. In November another guardian was appointed for the Prince and his sister (who however were kept entirely apart). The Prince often asked to see his mother, but no one dared to tell him the truth. Lasne succeeded Laurent as guardian March '95, and the boy spoke much more to Lasne than he had done to any one else. Early in May he was very ill, and M. Dusault, a leading doctor, was sent to attend him. He found rickets, incipient scrofula and mere exhaustion. Dusault died suddenly and Pelletan the new doctor immediately demanded extra advice. Dumangier was named to assist Pelletan: nothing could however be done and the child died in Lasne's arms at 2.15 A.M. on June 10th; his last words being that he "heard heavenly music and the voice of his mother; did Lasne think his sister could hear it?"

The Princesse Marie Thérèse Charlotte, afterwards Duchess of Angoulême, was not quite so badly treated. After Madame Elisabeth's death she continued to occupy alone the room she had shared with her aunt. Somewhat similar endeavours were made to obtain indecent evidence from her (a girl of 15), but were quite unsuccessful. In Nov. '94 she was found to be without shoes and stockings, and her linen was very scanty. After her brother's death a lady (Mme Bocquet de Chantereine) was appointed to attend on her, and she was allowed to walk in the garden. On Nov. 27th '95 the Directory ordered her exchange for some Republican prisoners detained in Austria, and on Dec. 18th she departed incognito for Basle. In 1808 the tower of the Temple in which the Royal family had been confined was pulled down by Napoleon's order.

It is noticeable that Austria (*i.e.*, Thugut) had several times been approached on the subject of an exchange, and shown herself by no means eager for it. To avoid recognising *any* successor to Louis XVI. seems to have been Thugut's aim. The only real friends of the Royal family outside France, Fersen, Mercy, and La Marck moved Heaven and Earth, and even appealed to Danton; but the names of the Queen of France and her children are never mentioned in the deliberation of the Allies, except occasionally by the Courts of Spain and Naples. Spain once (Oct. '94) proposed that Louis XVII. should be recognised as King of Navarre; and she continued to demand the extradition of the children as a preliminary to peace. (*See* Sorel, iii. 369, 424, 469, 472; iv. 146, 321, 348; and de Beauchesne, *Vie de Louis XVII.*, Paris, 1853.)

CHAPTER IV

MUMBO-JUMBO

BUT on the day they call *Décadi*, New-Sabbath, 20 *Prairial*,¹ 8th June by old style, what thing is this going forward in the Jardin National, whilom Tuileries Garden?

All the world is there, in holyday clothes:² foul linen went out with the Hébertists; nay Robespierre, for one, would never once countenance that; but went always elegant and frizzled, not without vanity even,—and had his room hung round with seagreen Portraits and Busts. In holyday clothes, we say, are the innumerable Citoyens and Citoyennes: the weather is of the brightest; cheerful expectation lights all countenances. Juryman Vilate gives breakfast to many a Deputy, in his official Apartment, in the Pavillon *ci-devant* of Flora; rejoices in the bright-looking multitudes, in the brightness of leafy June, in the auspicious *Décadi*, or New-Sabbath. This day, if it please Heaven, we are to have, on improved Anti-Chaumette principles: a New Religion.

Catholicism being burned out, and Reason-worship guillotined, was there not need of one? Incorruptible Robespierre, not unlike the Ancients, as Legislator of a free people, will now also be Priest and Prophet. He has donned his sky-blue coat, made for the occasion; white silk waistcoat broidered with silver, black silk breeches, white stockings, shoe-buckles of gold. He is President of the Convention; he has made the Convention *decree*, so they name it, *décréter* the 'Existence of the Supreme Being,' and

¹[The *Fête* had its origin in a report read by Robespierre on May 7th on the necessity of organising National *Fêtes*: this was followed by a decree, in 15 articles, "recognising the Supreme Being" and appointing first-class *Fêtes* on the great Revolutionary epochs (July 14th, Aug. 10th, Jan. 21st, May 31st), together with thirty-six second-class *Fêtes*, one for each decade of the year; the *Moniteur* of June 13th gives a most glowing account of this (first of the second-class *Fêtes*); the Provinces followed the example of Paris, and there were *Fêtes* of the Supreme Being all over France. It is unfortunate that Vilate is almost the only independent authority on it, for the impression it made abroad was considerable; e.g., Mallet du Pan thought that it would be the inauguration of Robespierre's dictatorship. (Corresp. ii. 102, note.)]

² Vilate, *Causes Secrètes de la Révolution du 9 Thermidor* [p. 196].

likewise ' *ce principe consolateur* of the Immortality of the Soul.'¹ These consolatory principles, the basis of rational Republican Religion, are getting decreed; and here, on this blessed *Décadi*, by help of Heaven and Painter David, is to be our first act of worship.

See, accordingly, how after Decree passed, and what has been called 'the scraggiest Prophetic Discourse ever uttered by man,'² —Mahomet Robespierre, in sky-blue coat and black breeches, frizzled and powdered to perfection, bearing in his hand a bouquet of flowers and wheat-ears, issues proudly from the Convention Hall; Convention following him, yet, as is remarked, with an interval. Amphitheatre has been raised, or at least *Monticule* or Elevation; hideous Statues of Atheism, Anarchy and such like, thanks to Heaven and Painter David, strike abhorrence into the heart. Unluckily, however, our *Monticule* is too small. On the top of it not half of us can stand; wherefore there arises indecent shoving, nay treasonous irreverent growling. Peace, thou Bourdon de l'Oise; peace, or it may be worse for thee!

The seagreen Pontiff takes a torch, Painter David handing it; mouths some other froth-rant of vocables, which happily one cannot hear; strides resolutely forward, in sight of expectant France; sets his torch to Atheism and Company, which are but made of pasteboard steeped in turpentine. They burn up rapidly; and, from within, there rises 'by machinery,' an incombustible Statue of Wisdom, which, by ill hap, gets besmoked a little; but does stand there visible in as serene attitude as it can.³

And then? Why, then, there is other Processioning, scraggy Discoursing, and—this is our Feast of the *Être Suprême*; our new

¹[May 7th.]

²[See Stephens' Orators (ii. 418). It is a *réchauffé* of Rousseau's 'Confession of a Savoyard Vicar,' and quite the dullest even of Robespierre's own speeches.]

³[Carlyle's topography is vague: one would gather from him that the whole thing took place in the Tuileries garden, whereas really there was a procession from that garden to the *Champ de Mars*, where the *Monticule* was erected; the Statue of 'Wisdom obscured by Atheism' was in the Tuileries garden; and the burning took place before the procession to the *Champ de Mars* (see Dauban, Paris en 1794, p. 385 *sqq.*; Rev. de la Rév. viii. 1, *sqq.*; d'Héricault, La Révolution de Thermidor (Paris, 1878), p. 212.)]

Religion, better or worse, is come!—Look at it one moment, O Reader, not two. The shabbiest page of Human Annals: or is there, that thou wottest of, one shabbier? Mumbo-Jumbo of the African woods to me seems venerable beside this new Deity of Robespierre; for this is a *conscious* Mumbo-Jumbo, and *knows* that he is machinery. O seagreen Prophet, unhappiest of windbags blown nigh to bursting, what distracted Chimera among realities art thou growing to! This then, this common pitch-link for artificial fireworks of turpentine and pasteboard: *this* is the miraculous Aaron's Rod thou wilt stretch over a hag-ridden hell-ridden France, and bid her plagues cease? Vanish, thou and it!—“*Avec ton Être Suprême,*” said Billaud, “*tu commences à m'embêter*: With thy *Être Suprême* thou beginnest to be a bore to me.”¹

Catherine Théot, on the other hand, ‘an ancient serving-maid seventy-nine years of age,’ inured to Prophecy and the Bastille from of old, sits in an upper room in the Rue de Contrescarpe, poring over the Book of Revelations, with an eye to Robespierre; finds that this astonishing thrice-potent Maximilien really is the Man spoken of by Prophets, who is to make the Earth young again. With her sit devout old Marchionesses, *ci-devant* honourable women; among whom Old-Constituent Dom Gerle, with his addle head, cannot be wanting. They sit there, in the Rue de Contrescarpe; in mysterious adoration: Mumbo is Mumbo, and Robespierre is his Prophet.² A conspicuous man this Robes-

¹ See Vilate, Causes Secrètes. (Vilate's Narrative is very curious; but is not to be taken as true, without sifting; being, at bottom, in spite of its title, not a Narrative but a Pleading.) [Cf. also the remark of a Sansculotte, quoted in Gros (p. 107), “*Le b—, dit-il, il n'est pas content d'être maître, il lui faut être Dieu.*” The *Fête* in fact was a dismal failure from beginning to end. Among those whose jeers were openly heard by the crowd were Bourdon, Merlin, Ruamps and Lecointre. It is probable that Robespierre himself heard many of them (Gros, 107).]

Vilate, born 1768, a juryman of the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, took the name of ‘Sempronius Gracchus:’ after Thermidor he was denounced by Legendre as a spy of the Committee, and tried to excuse himself by writing this book; executed May 7th '95.]

² [Catherine Théot had been in the Bastille as a lunatic, April 12th—May 29th 1779; she seems to have fancied herself *enceinte* by heavenly agencies; she held regular *séances* with Gerle acting as priest; she was arrested June 17th by order of the *Comité de Sécurité Générale*, and died in prison in the following September. It seems probable that Robespierre had only attended one or two *séances* out of curiosity. For Dom Gerle, *vid. supr.*, i. 398.]

pierre. He has his volunteer Bodyguard of *Tappe-durs*, let us say *Strike-sharps*,¹ fierce Patriots with feruled sticks; and Jacobins kissing the hem of his garment. He enjoys the admiration of many, the worship of some; and is well worth the wonder of one and all.

The grand question and hope, however, is: Will not this Feast of the Tuileries Mumbo-Jumbo be a sign perhaps that the Guillotine is to abate? Far enough from that! Precisely on the second day after it, Couthon, one of the 'three shallow scoundrels,' gets himself lifted into the Tribune; produces a bundle of papers. Couthon proposes that, as Plots still abound, the *Law of the Suspect* shall have extension, and Arrestment new vigour and facility. Further that, as in such case business is like to be heavy, our Revolutionary Tribunal too shall have extension; be divided, say, into Four Tribunals, each with its President, each with its Fouquier or Substitute of Fouquier, all labouring at once, and any remnant of shackle or dilatory formality be struck off: in this way it may perhaps still overtake the work. Such is Couthon's *Decree of the Twenty-second Prairial*, famed in those times.² At hearing of which Decree, the very Mountain gasped, awestruck; and one Ruamps ventured to say that if it passed without adjournment and discussion, he, as one Representative, "would blow his brains out." Vain saying! The Incorruptible knit his brows; spoke a prophetic fateful word or two: the *Law of Prairial*³ is Law; Ruamps glad to leave his rash

¹[The question of Robespierre's 'bodyguard' has often been raised, but is hardly solved, as Campardon regards it to be, by the letter written by Girard to the *Comité de Sécurité Générale* (Aug. 18th '94). That letter however says that Robespierre used to be accompanied to and from the Convention and the Jacobins by a number of his friends and that he, Girard, was sometimes invited to serve Robespierre in this way: most of these men were jurors or judges of the *Tribunal*, Nicolas, Chrétien, Garnier-Launay, etc. (Campardon, i. 342).]

²[June 10th.]

³[The law of the 22nd Prairial was presented to the Convention by Couthon and Robespierre alone, without previous consultation with the other members of the Committee; Billaud furiously accused them of this the next day. Carlyle misses the points of the law which are contained in its eighth, ninth and tenth articles, *viz.*, (i.) that 'evidence may be taken from any sort of document, material 'or moral, verbal or written, which could naturally convince a just and reasonable 'mind;' (in other words the whole existing formulæ of the law of evidence are annulled). (ii.) 'Any citizen has the right to seize and bring before the magistrates

brains where they are. Death then, and always Death! Even so. Fouquier is enlarging his borders; making room for Batches of a Hundred and fifty at once;—getting a Guillotine set up of improved velocity, and to work under cover, in the apartment close by. So that *Salut* itself has to intervene, and forbid him: “Wilt thou demoralise the Guillotine,” asks Collot, reproachfully, “*démoraliser le supplice!*”

There is indeed danger of that; were not the Republican faith great, it were already done. See, for example, on the 17th of June, what a *Batch*, Fifty-four at once! Swart Amiral is here, he of the pistol that missed fire; young Cécile Renault, with her father, family, entire kith and kin; the Widow of D'Espréménil; old M. de Sombreuil of the Invalides, with his Son,—poor old Sombreuil, seventy-three years old, his Daughter saved him in September, and it was but for *this*. Faction of the Stranger, fifty-four of them! In red shirts and smocks, as Assassins and Faction of the Stranger, they flit along there; red baleful Phantasmagory, towards the land of Phantoms.

Meanwhile will not the people of the Place de la Révolution, the inhabitants along the Rue Saint-Honoré, as these continual Tumbrils pass, begin to look gloomy? Republicans too have bowels. The Guillotine is shifted, then again shifted; finally set up at the remote extremity of the Southeast: Suburbs

'any conspirator, and is bound to denounce such.' (iii.) 'No one can be handed over to the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* except by the Convention, the two great Com-mittées, the *Représentants en mission* and the Accuser Public.' This last destroyed the last feeble protection which the members of the Convention enjoyed, that of not being decreed accused except by the Convention itself. It was this which provoked Bourdon, Ruamps, etc., to protest; with the result that this obnoxious clause was repealed next day on the motion of Merlin-Thionville; and on the 12th Robespierre and Couthon tried to explain that they had never intended to include Conventionals (but this was not believed). The rest of the clauses became law. Further the law removed the privilege of having Counsel except from “calumniated patriots;” and suppressed the previous interrogatories (Arts. xii., xvi.).

The law is printed *in extenso* in Campardon (i. 328) together with the speeches of Couthon in introducing it and of Robespierre in forcing it through; the author however points out that its effect was not so great as might be supposed: there were a few moderate judges removed to make way for bloodier ones; but Dumas and Coffinhal had already been Presidents; and the *fournées* and *feu de file* had gone on for some time: still the numbers of the condemned increased enormously, an average of 29 persons per day being executed between the passing of the law and Thermidor 9th.]

Saint-Antoine and Saint Marceau, it is to be hoped, if they have bowels, have very tough ones.¹

¹ Montgaillard, iv. 237 [*vid. supr.*, iii. 189, note. The *Place du Trône* is some way outside the *Porte Saint-Antoine* on the Vincennes road: in the adjoining Convent of *Picpus* most of the victims of the *Red Terror*, as these 47 days are called, are buried.]

[The remains of all parties gradually coalesced against Robespierre, Couthon and Saint-Just; we may doubt if the theories of these fanatics were ever considered by the hard-working members of the Committee, but Robespierre in particular must have wasted a lot of its time. From January onwards we get an endless number of circulars issued by the Committee to the constituted authorities all over France, and bearing evident marks of having been drawn up by Robespierre himself; they are generally quite vague, and end with injunctions to embrace all round at the foot of the tree of liberty (*see* especially Aulard, *Recueil*, x. 679). Moreover we know that Carnot and Saint-Just used to have fierce quarrels in the Committee-room: and as the days went on the tension between the three dreamers and the practical men grew continually greater. Robespierre's power rested (i.) on Hanriot (a forgiven Hébertist, remember), and his armed force; (ii.) on Fleuriot, Payan, Coffinhal, at the *Mairie* and *Hôtel-de-Ville*; (iii.) on his own pet spies in the police, such as Héron and Jullien (but these were in daily quarrel with the *Sûreté Générale* and alienated many of its members from Robespierre); (iv.) on four votes in the two great committees (*viz.*, Saint-Just and Couthon; David and Lebas); (v.) on the majority in the Jacobins after the *épuration* of Nov. and Dec. '93; (vi.) on the *claque* in the galleries of the Convention led by Nicolas and Duplay, Robespierre's landlord; (vii.) but most of all on the *Marais* in the Convention, as whose friend he had always posed (*vid. infr.*, iii. 202, 208; *cf.* Gros, p. 107; Von Sybel, iv. 15, 16).]

CHAPTER V

THE PRISONS

It is time now, however, to cast a glance into the Prisons. When Desmoulins moved for his Committee of Mercy, these Twelve Houses of Arrest held five-thousand persons. Continually arriving since then, there have now accumulated twelve-thousand. They are *Ci-devants*, Royalists; in far greater part, they are Republicans, of various Girondin, Fayettish, Un-Jacobin colour. Perhaps no human Habitation or Prison ever equalled in squalor, in noisome horror, these Twelve Houses of Arrest. There exist records of personal experience in them, *Mémoires sur les Prisons*; ² one of the strangest Chapters in the Biography of Man.

²[The *Mémoires sur les Prisons*, in 2 vols., in MM. Berville and Barrière's Collection (1823) begin with the celebrated *Mémoires d'un Détenu* (*i.e.*, Riouffe); and contain, besides, *L'Humanité Méconnue* by Paris de l'Épinard (which describe the *Abbaye, Conciergerie, Hôtel-Dieu, Évêché, Collège du Plessis*); *L'Incarcération de Beaumarchais* (which however refers wholly to the eve of the September massacres in '92); *Tableau Historique de la Maison Lazare* (describing the *Maison d'arrêt* in

Very singular to look into it : how a kind of order rises up in all conditions of human existence ; and wherever two or three are gathered together, there are formed modes of existing together, habitudes, observances, nay gracefulnesses, joys ! Citoyen Coittant will explain fully how our lean dinner, of herbs and carrion, was consumed not without politeness and *place-aux-dames* : how Seigneur and Shoebblack, Duchess and Doll-Tear-sheet, flung pell-mell into a heap, ranked themselves according to method : at what hour ' the Citoyennes took to their needle-work ; ' and we, yielding the chairs to them, endeavoured to talk gallantly in a standing posture, or even to sing and harp more or less. Jealousies, enmities, are not wanting ; nor flirtations, of an effective character.

Alas, by degrees, even needlework must cease : Plot in the Prison rises, by Citoyen Laffotte and Preternatural Suspicion. Suspicious Municipality snatches from us all implements ; all money and possession, of means or metal, is ruthlessly searched for, in pocket, in pillow, in paillasse, and snatched away : red-capped Commissaries entering every cell. Indignation, temporary desperation, at robbery of its very thimble, fills the gentle heart. Old Nuns shriek shrill discord ; demand to be killed forthwith. No help from shrieking ! Better was that of the two shifty male Citizens, who, eager to preserve an implement or two, were it but a pipe-picker, or needle to darn hose with, determined to defend themselves : by tobacco. Swift

the Rue de Sèvres, *Picpus, Saint-Lazare*, which last was only opened as a prison on Jan. 9th '94) ; *Maison d'arrêt de Port Libre* (Coittant's journal, describing *Porte Libre* and the *Carmes*) ; *Le Luxembourg* (anonymous, though Dauban (Les Prisons, 234) says that the facts related correspond so exactly with Beaulieu's journal of the *Luxembourg* that one would be inclined to attribute it to him were not the spirit altogether different) ; *Précis Historique sur la Maison d'arrêt de la Rue de Sèvres* (also anonymous) ; *Madelonnettes* (anonymous, but known to be by Coittant) ; *La Mairie, La Force et le Collège du Plessis* (anonymous, by an old soldier). They also contain the *Voyage des 132 Nantais, Les Horreurs des Prisons d'Arras* and the account of the priests on board ship at Rochefort.

Some of these accounts were published in the *Almanach des Prisons* of the year III. ; and, in a larger work by Nougaret, *Hist. des Prisons de Paris et des Départements* (1797) ; others are reproduced in Dauban, *Les Prisons* (1870), and Wallon, *La Terreur*, vol. ii. The registers of several of the prisons, notably of the *Abbaye* and *La Force* at the date of the massacres, and of the *Conciergerie*, were destroyed by the *Commune* in 1871 (Wallon, ii. 3, note) ; and all attempt to estimate accurately the number of prisoners at any given time must be abandoned.]

then, as your fell Red Caps are heard in the Corridor rummaging and slamming, the two Citoyens light their pipes, and begin smoking. Thick darkness envelops them. The Red Nightcaps, opening the cell, breathe but one mouthful; burst forth into chorus of barking and coughing. "*Quoi, Messieurs,*" cry the two Citoyens, "you don't smoke? Is the pipe disagreeable? *Est-ce que vous ne fumez pas?*" But the Red Nightcaps have fled, with slight search: "*Vous n'aimez pas la pipe?*" cry the Citoyens, as their door slams-to again.¹ My poor brother Citoyens, O surely, in a reign of Brotherhood, you are not the two I would guillotine!

Rigour grows, stiffens into horrid tyranny; Plot in the Prison getting ever rifer. This Plot in the Prison, as we said, is now the stereotype formula of Tinville: against whomsoever he knows no crime, this is a ready-made crime. His Judgment-bar has become unspeakable; a recognised mockery; known only as the wicket one passes through, towards Death. His Indictments are drawn out in blank; you insert the Names after. He has his *moutons*, detestable traitor jackals, who report and bear witness; that they themselves may be allowed to live,—for a time. His *Fournées*, says the reproachful Collot, 'shall in no case exceed threescore;' that is his *maximum*. Nightly come his Tumbrils to the Luxembourg, with the fatal Roll-call; list of the *Fournée* of tomorrow. Men rush towards the Grate; listen, if their name be in it? One deep-drawn breath, when the name is not in; we live still one day! And yet some score or scores of names were in. Quick these, they clasp their loved ones to their heart, one last time; with brief adieu, wet-eyed or dry-eyed, they mount, and are away. This night to the Conciergerie; through the Palais misnamed *of Justice*, to the Guillotine, tomorrow.

Recklessness, defiant levity, the Stoicism if not of strength yet of weakness, has possessed all hearts. Weak women and *Ci-devants*, their locks not yet made into blond perukes, their

¹ Maison d'Arrêt de Port-Libre, par Coittant, &c. (Mémoires sur les Prisons, ii.) [pp. 101-2]

skins not yet tanned into breeches, are accustomed to 'act the Guillotine' by way of pastime. In fantastic mummery, with towel-turbans, blanket-ermine, a mock Sanhedrim of Judges sits, a mock Tinville pleads; a culprit is doomed, is guillotined by the oversetting of two chairs. Sometimes we carry it further: Tinville himself, in his turn, is doomed, and not to the Guillotine alone. With blackened face, hirsute, horned, a shaggy Satan snatches him not unshrieking; shows him, with outstretched arm and voice, the fire that is not quenched, the worm that dies not; the monotony of Hell-pain, and the *What hour?* answered by, *It is Eternity.*¹

And still the Prisons fill fuller, and still the Guillotine goes faster. On all high roads march flights of Prisoners, wending towards Paris. Not *Ci-devants* now; they, the noisy of them, are mown down; it is Republicans now. Chained two and two they march; in exasperated moments singing their *Marseillaise*. A hundred and thirty-two men of Nantes, for instance, march towards Paris, in these same days: Republicans, or say even Jacobins to the marrow of the bone; but Jacobins who had not approved Noyading.² *Vive la République* rises from them in all streets of towns: they rest by night in unutterable noisome dens, crowded to choking; one or two dead on the morrow. They are wayworn, weary of heart; can only shout: *Live the Republic*; we, as under horrid enchantment, dying in this way for it!

Some Four-hundred Priests, of whom also there is record, ride at anchor, 'in the roads of the Isle of Aix,' long months; looking out on misery, vacuity, waste Sands of Oléron and the ever-

¹ Montgaillard, iv. 218; Riouffe, p. 273. [A wrong reference; Riouffe, in the supplement to his *Mémoires* quoted in Dauban (Prisons, p. 126), gives the story of this taking place in the *Conciergerie*, cell No. 13. In the *Mémoires d'un Détené*, i.e., the first edition of Riouffe (Paris, l'An III.), the story is told on pp. 151-3, but it is not in Berville and Barrière's edition, which Carlyle generally used.]

² Voyage de Cent Trente-deux Nantais, Prisons, ii. 288-335. [There are two accounts of this journey given, the first written at Paris and signed by 'ten citizens:' it is dated in the *Mémoires sur les Prisons* '30 Thermidor' (Aug. 17th); but the last two pages are a postscript, and Campardon (ii. 245) restores the real date, '1st Messidor' (June 29th). The second account, of only a few pages (Prisons, ii. 328), is by Citizen Desbouchauds. The 132 Nantais left Nantes Nov. 27th '93, and reached Paris Jan. 5th '94, reduced to 97. They were lodged at the *Mairie* and in two days transferred to the *Conciergerie* (*vid. infr.*, iii. 220).]

moaning brine. Ragged, sordid, hungry; wasted to shadows: eating their unclean ration on deck, circularly, in parties of a dozen, with finger and thumb; beating their scandalous clothes between two stones; choked in horrible miasmata, closed under hatches, seventy of them in a berth, through night; so that the 'aged Priest is found lying dead in the morning, in the attitude of prayer!' ¹—How long, O Lord!

Not forever; no. All Anarchy, all Evil, Injustice, is, by the nature of it, *dragon's-teeth*; suicidal, and cannot endure.

CHAPTER VI

TO FINISH THE TERROR ²

IT is very remarkable, indeed, that since the *Être-Suprême* Feast, and the sublime continued harangues on it, which Billaud

¹ Relation de ce qu'ont souffert pour la Religion les prêtres Français insermentés, déportés en 1794, dans la rade de l'île d'Aix (Prisons, ii. 387-485). [The Isle of Aix is off the mouth of the Charente near Rochefort. The anonymous author says that three-fourths of the priests died in eleven months (from Feb. '94 to Jan. '95).]

²[The best and clearest account of Thermidor is to be found in M. d'Héricault's *La Révolution de Thermidor* (Paris, 1878). It is based on a great many contemporary works, notably on the really trustworthy memoirs of three members of the *marais*, Daunou, Thibaudeau and Durand-Maillane (afterwards leaders in the Convention), on the evidence which came out at the subsequent state trials, on researches in the Archives, as well as on the less trustworthy *Rapport* of Courtois on the events of 9th Thermidor, and his two (mutilated) reports of the papers found at Robespierre's house; on the *Hist. de la Conjuration de M. Robespierre*, by Montjoie (an IV.); on the *Crimes de sept membres des Anciens Comités*, by Lecointre, and the answers of those members to Lecointre; on the Report of Saladin, in the name of the Committee of 21 (*i.e.*, the report against Billaud, Collot and Barère, March '95); and on Dussault's *Fragment pour servir à l'Histoire de la Conv. Nat.* (an III.).]

M. d'Héricault admits the difficulty of reconciling the various stories (even the exact course of events on July 27th is difficult to ascertain), but I think that he explains many of the difficulties. Carlyle appears to have relied largely on the *Moniteur*, Vilate and the Continuator of Deux Amis.

The threads of the combination of the remnants of the other parties against Robespierre are not easy to unravel; and perhaps in such a state of society, where no man could trust another, one ought not to speak of parties at all, but at most of groups of individuals. Each of the *Montagnards* had his own personal reasons for hatred or for fear; but undoubtedly the coalition of Billaud and Collot with the Dantonists comes as a surprise to us; it is probable, however, as I have stated below, that they expected to dominate the Jacobin Club in place of Robespierre when he should be overthrown. The game of the old Septemberers and Hébertists had been entirely checked by Robespierre, and some of them may have looked to revive it under the leadership of Billaud; some of them again, especially Panis, were attached to the memory of Danton. But the real explanation may after all be best sought in the peculiar talents of Fouché for every kind of dark intrigue and combination; the materials he had to work upon being cupidity, fear and hatred, he might be trusted to make an effective use of them.]

feared would become a bore to him, Robespierre has gone little to Committee: but held himself apart, as if in a kind of pet.¹ Nay they have made a Report on that old Catherine Théot,² and her Regenerative Man spoken of by the Prophets; not in the best spirit. This Théot mystery they affect to regard as a Plot; but have evidently introduced a vein of satire, of irreverent banter, not against the Spinster alone, but obliquely against her Regenerative Man! Barrère's light pen was perhaps at the bottom of it: read through the solemn snuffling organs of old Vadier of the *Sûreté Générale*, the Théot Report³ had its effect; wrinkling the general Republican visage into an iron grin. Ought these things to be?

We note further, that among the Prisoners in the Twelve Houses of Arrest, there is one whom we have seen before. Senhora Fontenai, *born* Cabarus, the fair Proserpine whom Representative Tallien Pluto-like did gather at Bourdeaux, not without effect on himself! Tallien is home, by recall, long since, from Bourdeaux; and in the most alarming position. Vain that he sounded, louder even than ever, the note of Jacobinism, to hide past shortcomings: the Jacobins purged him out⁴; two times has

¹ [Robespierre's position became more and more awkward through June and July; he was hated and despised by his colleagues in the Committee; he bored them to extinction as well, but his prestige in the Convention and at the Jacobins was useful to them. What faculty of decision he ever possessed he appears to have lost in this period of loneliness. He desired to govern? Yes, but he desired far more to head the opposition to government: he knew enough of the foul mob which he had idolised, to know that the man in opposition always has the hearts of the "people." And if it came to governing he probably found in himself no faculty for it (*cf.* Gros, p. 81): d'Héricault thinks, probably with truth, that he did not wish to be dictator in name, and did not want a new May 31st, but *did* want a gradual elimination of all persons hostile to himself in the Convention and the Committees: he would preserve a phantom Convention and a phantom Committee to veil his own real power (d'Héricault, p. 49).

Too much has been made of the story of his retirement: he signed many acts of Committee during the alleged period of retirement; but only once (July 22nd) attended a meeting of the two Committees united: probably he used to come to the *Salut* only late at night, and when there were only one or two members there (d'Héricault, p. 252 *sqq.*.)

² [June 15th.]

³ [The Report was undoubtedly a feeler in the direction of inculcating Robespierre, but he came to the Committee, and with some difficulty succeeded in preventing the accused persons (5 in number) from being sent to the *Tribunal*, and in stifling all further inquiry as to their accomplices (d'Héricault, p. 248).]

⁴ [June 14th.]

Robespierre growled at him words of omen from the Convention Tribune. And now his fair Cabarus, hit by denunciation, lies Arrested, Suspect, in spite of all he could do!—Shut in horrid pinfold of death,¹ the Senhora smuggles out to her red-gloomy Tallien the most pressing entreaties and conjurings: Save me; save thyself. Seest thou not that thy own head is doomed; thou with a too fiery audacity; a Dantonist withal; against whom lie grudges? Are ye not all doomed, as in the Polyphemus Cavern: the fawningest slave of you will be but eaten last!—Tallien feels with a shudder that it is true. Tallien has had words of omen, Bourdon has had words, Fréron is hated and Barras; each man 'feels his head if it yet stick on his shoulders.'

Meanwhile Robespierre, we still observe, goes little to Convention, not at all to Committee; speaks nothing except to his Jacobin House of Lords, amid his body-guard of *Tappe-durs*. These 'forty-days,' for we are now far in July, he has not showed face in Committee; could only work there by his three shallow scoundrels, and the terror there was of him.² The Incorruptible himself sits apart; or is seen stalking in solitary places in the fields, with an intensely meditative air; some say, 'with eyes red-spotted,'³ fruit of extreme bile: the lamentablest seagreen Chimera that walks the Earth that July! O hapless Chimera; for thou too hadst a life, and heart of flesh,—what is this that the stern gods, seeming to smile all the way, have led and let thee to! Art not thou he, who, few years ago, was a young

¹[*Vid. supr.*, iii. 123.]

²[Couthon was less present (owing to his ill health) than any other member of the Committee: Saint-Just and Lebas were absent (with the Army of the North) from April 29th to June 29th (except for five days in Prairial). There had already been two outbursts in the Committee against Robespierre, one on the part of Carnot against his secret police, who had arrested two of Carnot's clerks, and one on the part of Billaud about the law of Prairial (*vid. supr.*, iii. 194). Messidor (June 19th—July 18th) was quiet, except for Jourdan's victories in the Netherlands and the increasing rapidity of the guillotine, but towards the end of that month Fouché, the real wire-puller, began to organise his party, always keeping himself out of sight. The two Committees, if united, might have struck the blow themselves, but they were not united; many of them were cowards, and many of them feared that, on the overthrow of the system of Terror, they themselves would be called to account. Hence the lead fell to the *Montagnards* outside the Committees, and these had no choice but to win over the *marais*, which on this occasion Robespierre omitted to conciliate (*d'Héricault*, p. 271 *sqq.*.)]

³Deux Amis, xii. 347-73.

Advocate of promise; and gave up the Arras Judgeship rather than sentence one man to die?—

What his thoughts might be? His plans for finishing the Terror? One knows not. Dim vestiges there flit of Agrarian Law; a victorious Sansculottism become Landed Proprietor; old Soldiers sitting in National Mansions, in Hospital Palaces of Chambord and Chantilly; peace bought by victory; breaches healed by Feast of *Être Suprême*;—and so, through seas of blood, to Equality, Frugality, worksome Blessedness, Fraternity, and Republic of the virtues. Blessed shore, of such a sea of Aristocrat blood: but how to land on it? Through one last wave: blood of corrupt Sansculottists; traitorous or semi-traitorous Conventionals, rebellious Talliens, Billauds, to whom with my *Être Suprême* I have become a bore; with my Apocalyptic Old Woman a laughing-stock!—So stalks he, this poor Robespierre, like a seagreen ghost, through the blooming July. Vestiges of schemes flit dim. But *what* his schemes or his thoughts were will never be known to man.

New Catacombs, some say, are digging for a huge simultaneous butchery. Convention to be butchered, down to the right pitch, by General Henriot and Company: Jacobin House of Lords made dominant; and Robespierre Dictator.¹ There is actually, or else there is not actually, a List made out; which the Hairdresser has got eye on, as he frizzled the Incorruptible locks. Each man asks himself, Is it I?

Nay, as Tradition and rumour of Anecdote still convey it, there was a remarkable bachelor's dinner, one hot day, at Barrère's. For doubt not, O Reader, this Barrère and others of them gave dinners; had 'country-house at Clichy,' with elegant enough sumptuosities, and pleasures high-rouged.² But at this dinner we speak of, the day being so hot, it is said, the guests all stript

¹ Deux Amis, xii. 350-8.

² See Vilate [p. 184. The story of Barère's *Maison de Plaisance* at Clichy, to which Voulland and Vadier had the *entrée* and to which Barère retired twice in the decade, is not in itself improbable, but rests solely on Vilate. Macaulay in his famous Essay on Barère says it has 'often been repeated,' but I know of no good authority for it.]

their coats, and left them in the drawing-room: whereupon Carnot glided out; groped in Robespierre's pocket; found a list of Forty, his own name among them; and tarried not at the wine-cup that day!—Ye must bestir yourselves, O Friends; ye dull Frogs of the Marsh, mute ever since Girondism sank under, even you now must croak or die! Councils are held, with word and beck; nocturnal, mysterious as death. Does not a feline Maximilien stalk there; voiceless as yet; his green eyes red-spotted; back bent, and hair up? Rash Tallien, with his rash temper and audacity of tongue; he shall *bell the cat*.¹ Fix a day; and be it soon, lest never!

Lo, before the fixed day, on the day which they call Eighth of Thermidor, 26th July 1794, Robespierre himself reappears in Convention; mounts to the Tribune! The biliary face seems clouded with new gloom: judge whether your Talliens, Bourdons, listened with interest. It is a voice bodeful of death or of life. Long-winded, unmelodious as the screech-owl's, sounds that prophetic voice: Degenerate condition of Republican spirit; corrupt Moderatism; *Sûreté, Salut* Committees themselves infected; back-sliding on this hand and on that; I, Maximilien, alone left incorruptible, ready to die at a moment's warning. For all which what remedy is there? The Guillotine; new vigour to the all-healing Guillotine; death to traitors of every hue! So

¹[The struggle really entered its final stage on July 19th (1st Thermidor) with the arrest of Vilate and Naulin (juror and judge of *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*), on a report of Barère's, and with the acquittal of Rousselin (an enemy of Robespierre) at the *Tribunal*. On 20th there was a meeting of the two Committees united, the result of which seems to have been unfavourable to Robespierre; but on 22nd at a similar meeting, at which Robespierre was present, the *Salut Public* reconciled itself with him to the prejudice of the *Sûreté Générale*: it was at this meeting that Saint-Just proposed a practical dictatorship in Robespierre's hands, and the Committees did not dare to oppose; Saint-Just was intrusted with the drawing up of a report on the State of the Nation, which should include some such proposal (d'Héricault, p. 340 *sqq.*). According to Billaud (*Réponse à Lecointre*), Robespierre named thirty members of the Convention who must die at once. The *Sûreté Générale* was terrified at the result, and so were the *Montagnards*. On 24th Carnot adroitly got a number of the cannons belonging to the Sections of Paris sent to the front (and thus deprived Hanriot of a good deal of material for a new May 31st), but this was angrily criticised at the Jacobins as an 'insult to Paris.' Also on 24th there was a meeting of the two Committees, but the secret of their deliberations has never transpired. On the 25th there was a petition of the Jacobins to the Convention denouncing the enemies of Robespierre; but not naming any leaders; Collot (President of the Convention that day) and Barère promised them satisfaction (*ibid.* 352 *sqq.*.)]

sings the prophetic voice; into its Convention sounding-board.¹ The old song this: but today, O Heavens! has the sounding-board ceased to act? There is not resonance in this Convention; there is, so to speak, a gasp of silence; nay a certain grating of one knows not what!—Lecointre, our old Draper of Versailles, in these questionable circumstances, sees nothing he can do so safe as rise, ‘insidiously’ or not insidiously, and move, according to established wont, that the Robespierre Speech be ‘printed and sent to the Departments.’² Hark: gratings, even of dissonance! Honourable Members hint dissonance; Committee-Members, inculcated in the Speech, utter dissonance, demand ‘delay in printing.’ Ever higher rises the note of dissonance; inquiry is even made by Editor Fréron: “What has become of the Liberty of Opinions in this Convention?” The Order to print and transmit, which had got passed, is rescinded. Robespierre, greener than ever before, has to retire, foiled; discerning that it is mutiny, that evil is nigh!

Mutiny is a thing of the fatallest nature in all enterprises whatsoever; a thing so incalculable, swift-frightful: not to be dealt with in *fright*. But mutiny in a Robespierre Convention, above all,—it is like fire seen sputtering in the ship’s powder-room! One death-defiant plunge at it, this moment, and you may still tread it out: hesitate till next moment,—ship and ship’s captain, crew and cargo are shivered far; the ship’s voyage has suddenly ended between sea and sky. If Robespierre can, tonight, produce his Henriot and Company, and get his work

¹[It is impossible to make much of this speech of Robespierre (*see* Stephens’ Orators, i. 423, where it occupies 43 pages), but note that he says, (i.) all the surviving members of Danton’s and Hébert’s factions are being ‘caressed by some people’ (*i.e.*, the Committees); (ii.) he does mention one or two names, Cambon, Mallarmé, Ramel; (iii.) he says that ‘the splendid victories of which you are being told in splendid language’ (one for Barère) ‘are a myth, the Army is really being betrayed’.]

²[Here Carlyle is wrong; the printing was all that Lecointre moved ‘without sending to the Committee to be examined:’ it was Couthon who moved the sending to all Departments; this re-provoked the discussion, and the vote was rescinded. Vadier then attacked Robespierre, followed by André Dumont, Billaud, Panis and Charlier in the same direction; Fréron made the last and boldest speech and demanded the repeal of the law of 22nd Prairial; the Convention rose at 5 P.M. (d’Héricault, p. 376 *sqq.*.)]

done by them, he and Sansculottism may still subsist some time ; if not, probably not. Oliver Cromwell, when that Agitator Sergeant stepped forth from the ranks, with plea of grievances, and began gesticulating and demonstrating, as the mouthpiece of Thousands expectant there,—discerned, with those truculent eyes of his, how the matter lay ; plucked a pistol from his holsters ; blew Agitator and Agitation instantly out.¹ Noll was a man fit for such things.

Robespierre, for his part, glides over at evening to his Jacobin House of Lords ; unfolds there, instead of some adequate resolution, his woes, his uncommon virtues, incorruptibilities ; then, secondly, his rejected screech-owl Oration ;—reads this latter over again ; and declares that he is ready to die at a moment's warning. Thou shalt not die ! shouts Jacobinism from its thousand throats. "Robespierre, I will drink the hemlock with thee," cries Painter David, "*Je boirai la cigue avec toi ;*"—a thing not essential to *do*, but which, in the fire of the moment, can be said.

Our Jacobin sounding-board, therefore, does act ! Applauses heaven-high cover the rejected Oration ; fire-eyed fury lights all Jacobin features : Insurrection a sacred duty ; the Convention to be purged ; Sovereign People under Henriot and Municipality ; we will make a new June-Second of it : To your tents, O Israel ! In this key pipes Jacobinism ; in sheer tumult of revolt. Let Tallien and all Opposition men make off. Collot d'Herbois, though of the supreme *Salut*, and so lately near shot, is elbowed, bullied ; is glad to escape alive. Entering Committee-room of *Salut*, all dishevelled, he finds sleek sombre Saint-Just there, among the rest ; who in his sleek way asks, "What is passing at the Jacobins ?"—"What is passing ?" repeats Collot, in the unhistrionic Cambyses' vein : "What is passing ? Nothing but revolt and horrors are passing. Ye want our lives ; ye shall not

¹[This probably refers to the execution—after trial by Court-Martial and not by Oliver's own hand—of Arnauld at Corkbush field, Nov. 15th 1647 (Carlyle, Cromwell, i. 266). There is no evidence for Cromwell having shot any one himself, but "Cromwell rode along the ranks . . . dashed among the mutineers with his sword drawn." (See Gardiner, Hist. of the Great Civil War, iii. 254.)]

have them." Saint-Just stutters at such Cambyses-oratory ; takes his hat to withdraw. That *Report* he had been speaking of, Report on Republican Things in General we may say, which is to be read in Convention on the morrow, he cannot show it them, at this moment : a friend has it ; he, Saint-Just, will get it, and send it, were he once home. Once home, he sends not it, but an answer that he will not send it ; that they will hear it from the Tribune to-morrow.¹

Let every man, therefore, according to a well-known good-advice, 'pray to Heaven, and keep his powder dry!' Paris, on the morrow, will see a thing. Swift scouts fly dim or invisible, all night, from *Sûreté* and *Salut* ; from conclave to conclave ; from Mother-Society to Townhall. Sleep, can it fall on the eyes of Talliens, Frérons, Collots ? Puissant Henriot, Mayor Fleuriot, Judge Coffinhal, Procureur Payan, Robespierre and all the Jacobins are getting ready.

CHAPTER VII

GO DOWN TO

TALLIEN'S eyes beamed bright, on the morrow, ninth of Thermidor² 'about nine o'clock,' to see that the Convention had actually met. Paris is in rumour : but at least we are met, in Legal Convention here ; we have not been snatched seriatim ; treated with a *Pride's Purge* at the door.³ "*Allons, brave men of the Plain,*" late Frogs of the Marsh ! cried Tallien with a squeeze of the hand, as he

¹[The Committee met at 10 P.M. and sat till 5 A.M. on the night 26th—27th ; Carlyle is correct about the quarrel between Saint-Just and Collot at 1 A.M. ; however Saint-Just did not go out, but went on quietly writing his speech for the next day (d'Héricault, p. 397 *sqq.*).

Fréron vainly endeavoured, with Lecointre and Cambon, to get into the Committee room to urge the arrest of Hanriot.]

²[July 27th. Tallien, Barras and Fréron dined with Mme St. Brice on 26th and swore on a bottle of champagne that they would lead the attack next day (d'Héricault, p. 391).]

³[Both the Committee and the Convention met at 10 A.M. on 27th ; the heat was intense, and members walked up and down in the corridors to get cool ; it was from outside that Tallien perceived Saint-Just in the *Tribune*, and cried '*Voilà ! il faut en finir,*' and then the members crowded in. Robespierre (who was dressed in his *Être-Suprême* clothes) was sitting at the foot of the *Tribune* to show that he had broken with the *Montagne* ; Collot was in the chair (d'Héricault, p. 401 *sqq.*.)]

passed in; Saint-Just's sonorous voice being now audible from the Tribune, and the game of games begun.

Saint-Just is verily reading that Report of his; green Vengeance, in the shape of Robespierre, watching nigh. Behold, however, Saint-Just has read but few sentences, when interruption rises, rapid *crescendo*; when Tallien starts to his feet, and Billaud, and this man starts and that,—and Tallien, a second time, with his: "Citoyens, at the Jacobins last night, I trembled for the Republic. I said to myself, if the Convention dare not strike the Tyrant, then I myself dare; and with this I will do it, if need be," said he, whisking out a clear-gleaming Dagger, and brandishing it there; the Steel of Brutus, as we call it. Whereat we all bellow, and brandish, impetuous acclaim. "Tyranny! Dictatorship! Triumvirate!" And the *Salut* Committee-men accuse, and all men accuse, and uproar, and impetuously acclaim. And Saint-Just is standing motionless, pale of face; Couthon ejaculating, "Triumvir?" with a look at his paralytic legs. And Robespierre is struggling to speak, but President Thuriot is jingling the bell against him, but the Hall is sounding against him like an Æolus-Hall: and Robespierre is mounting the Tribune-steps and descending again; going and coming, like to choke with rage, terror, desperation:—and mutiny is the order of the day.¹

O President Thuriot, thou that wert Elector Thuriot, and from the Bastille battlements sawest Saint-Antoine rising like the Ocean-tide, and hast seen much since, sawest thou ever the like of this? Jingle of bell, which thou jinglest against Robespierre, is hardly audible amid the Bedlam-storm; and men rage for life. "President of Assassins," shrieks Robespierre, "I demand speech of thee for the last time!" It cannot be had. "To you, O virtuous men of the Plain," cries he, finding audience one moment, "I appeal to you!" The virtuous men of the Plain sit silent as stones. And Thuriot's bell jingles, and the Hall sounds like Æolus's Hall. Robespierre's frothing lips are grown 'blue;' his tongue dry, cleaving to the roof of his mouth. "The blood of

¹ Moniteur, Nos. 311, 312; Débats, iv. 421-42; Deux Amis, xii. 390-411.

Danton chokes him," cry they. "Accusation! Decree of Accusation!" Thuriot swiftly puts that question. Accusation passes; the incorruptible Maximilien is decreed Accused.

"I demand to share my Brother's fate, as I have striven to share his virtues," cries Augustin, the Younger Robespierre: Augustin also is decreed. And Couthon, and Saint-Just, and Lebas, they are all decreed; and packed forth,—not without difficulty, the Ushers almost trembling to obey. Triumvirate and Company are packed forth, into *Salut* Committee-room; their tongue cleaving to the roof of their mouth. You have but to summon the Municipality; to cashier Commandant Henriot, and launch arrest at him; to regulate formalities; hand Tinville his victims. It is noon; the Æolus-Hall has delivered itself; blows now victorious, harmonious, as one irresistible wind.¹

And so the work is finished? One thinks so: and yet it is not so. Alas, there is yet but the first-act finished; three or four other acts still to come; and an uncertain catastrophe! A huge City holds in it so many confusions: seven hundred thousand human heads; not one of which knows what its neighbour is doing, nay not what itself is doing.—See, accordingly, about three in the afternoon, Commandant Henriot, how instead of sitting cashiered, arrested, he gallops along the Quais, followed by Municipal Gendarmes, 'trampling down several persons!' For the Townhall sits deliberating, openly insurgent: Barriers to be shut; no Gaoler to admit any Prisoner this day;—and Henriot is galloping towards the Tuileries, to deliver Robespierre. On the Quai de la Ferrallerie, a young Citoyen, walking with his wife,

¹[Billaud and the rest of the Committee hurried in at once as soon as they heard that Saint-Just was in the *Tribune*; and to Billaud fell the honour of first denouncing Robespierre by name "as being a *modéré*" (d'Héricault, p. 409); but his attack was weak, and it was Tallien's second speech that roused the Convention. *Séance permanente* was decreed on his motion. Couthon and Saint-Just lost their nerve quite as much as Robespierre, and sat silent all day at the foot of the Tribune. At 2 P.M. came the cry for Barère, and Barère moved the suppression of the office of Commander of National Guard (Henriot), and spoke covertly against Robespierre. At 2.30 Thuriot succeeded Collot in the chair and took care that no Robespierrist should speak. At 4 Louchet demanded a decree of accusation against Robespierre, and the Right and Centre rose as one man; Robespierre was taken out of the Convention in custody a little after 4 P.M. At 5 it seemed all over and many members left the Convention (*ibid.* 412 sqq.).]

says aloud: "Gendarmes, that man is not your Commandant; he is under arrest." The Gendarmes strike down the young Citoyen with the flat of their swords.¹

Representatives themselves (as Merlin the Thionviller), who accost him, this puissant Henriot flings into guardhouses. He bursts towards the Tuileries Committee-room, "to speak with Robespierre:" with difficulty, the Ushers and Tuileries Gendarmes, earnestly pleading and drawing sabre, seize this Henriot; get the Henriot Gendarmes persuaded not to fight; get Robespierre and Company packed into hackney-coaches, sent off under escort, to the Luxembourg and other Prisons. This then *is* the end? May not an exhausted Convention adjourn now, for a little repose and sustenance, 'at five o'clock?'

An exhausted Convention did it; and repented it.² The end was not come; only the end of the *second-act*. Hark, while exhausted Representatives sit at victuals,—tocsin bursting from all steeples, drums rolling, in the summer evening: Judge Coffinhal is galloping with new Gendarmes, to deliver Henriot from Tuileries Committee-room; and does deliver him! Puissant Henriot vaults on horseback; sets to haranguing the Tuileries Gendarmes; corrupts the Tuileries Gendarmes too; trots off with them to Townhall.³ Alas, and Robespierre is not in Prison: the Gaoler showed his Municipal order, durst not, on pain of his life, admit any Prisoner; the Robespierre Hackney-coaches, in this confused jangle and whirl of uncertain Gendarmes, have floated safe—into

¹ Précis des événemens du Neuf Thermidor; par C. A. Méda, ancien Gendarme (Paris, 1825).

²[The ease of the victory nearly lost it all again, for the Convention left the *Commune* time to act. Though the orders for the arrest of Robespierre's friends arrived one by one at the *Hôtel-de-Ville*, they were not quickly obeyed, and Henriot was actually not arrested till 7.30 P.M. (d'Héricault 427).]

³[The accused *were* all arrested, and sent to various prisons; Robespierre was taken to the *Luxembourg* at 5 P.M., where the gaoler refused to receive him, and from thence to the *Mairie*, where the police officials greeted him with acclaim (8.30 P.M.); from that hour till 11 P.M., when he arrived at the *Hôtel-de-Ville*, we know nothing of what he was doing: probably he was hesitating to "disobey the orders of justice," lest he should be outlawed by the Convention. At the *Mairie* he was a prisoner, but was among friends, and would be let go any moment he chose (d'Héricault, p. 458 *sqq.*). At length at 11 P.M., after repeated entreaties, on hearing the *Commune* had organised a good Insurrection in his favour, he yielded and went to the *Hôtel-de-Ville*.]

the Townhall! There sit Robespierre and Company, embraced by Municipals and Jacobins, in sacred right of Insurrection; redacting Proclamations;¹ sounding tocsins; corresponding with Sections and Mother-Society. Is not here a pretty enough third-act of a *natural* Greek Drama; catastrophe more uncertain than ever?

The hasty Convention rushes together again, in the ominous nightfall: President Collot, for the chair is his, enters with long strides, paleness on his face; claps-on his hat; says with solemn tone: "Citoyens, armed Villains have beset the Committee-rooms, and got possession of them. The hour is come, to die at our post!" "*Oui*," answer one and all: "We swear it!" It is no rhodomontade, this time, but a sad fact and necessity; unless we *do* at our posts, we must verily die. Swift therefore, Robespierre, Henriot, the Municipality, are declared Rebels; put *Hors la Loi*, Out of Law. Better still, we appoint Barras Commandant of what Armed-force is to be had; send Missionary Representatives to all Sections and quarters, to preach, and raise force;² will die at least with harness on our back.

What a distracted City; men riding and running, reporting and hearsaying; the Hour clearly in travail,—child not to be *named* till born! The poor Prisoners in the Luxembourg hear the rumour; tremble for a new September. They see men making

¹[The *Commune* were the better prepared to act, for it is certain that from the night of 26th they had prepared a general attack on the Convention under Hanriot. Hanriot was delivered from prison at 9 P.M., and everything looked favourable for Robespierre. The tocsin was rung from 6 till 10, and by 10 P.M. a large number of Hanriot's men had assembled on the *Grève*, seventeen out of forty-eight Sections sending pretty well their full complement of men. The *Commune* ordered the arrest of the two Great Committees and of all the leaders of the *Montagne*: if Hanriot had advanced on the Convention, say at 10 P.M., he would have won; but Robespierre's arrival was really fatal to his cause: even at that hour he dreaded Hanriot and militarism. Saint-Just and Lebas were the last to arrive at the *Hôtel-de-Ville* (shortly before midnight); by that time it had begun to rain and the Sections were getting weary of being under arms (d'Héricault, p. 462 *sqq.*.)]

²[The Convention, (remember a fair number were left to keep *Séance permanente*), met in force again at 7 P.M.: at 10 Barras had been appointed Commander and had ridden out with only twelve followers to rally respectable Paris to the defence of the Convention. The rain increased, and at midnight it was pouring in torrents, but by 1 A.M. Barras had collected some 6,000 men on the *Carrousel*, chiefly from Sections *Tuileries*, *Halles*, *Picques*, and *Filles St. Thomas*; at midnight the decree outlawing Robespierre had been published in the streets (*ibid.* 470 *sqq.*.)]

signals to them, on skylights and roofs, apparently signals of hope; cannot in the least make out what it is.¹ We observe, however, in the eventide, as usual,² the Death-tumbrils faring Southeastward, through Saint-Antoine, towards their Barrier du Trône. Saint-Antoine's tough bowels melt; Saint-Antoine surrounds the Tumbrils; says, It shall not be. O Heavens, why should it! Henriot and Gendarmes, scouring the streets that way, bellow, with waved sabres, that it must. Quit hope, ye poor Doomed!³ The Tumbrils move on.

But in this set of Tumbrils there are two other things notable: one notable person; and one want of a notable person. The notable person is Lieutenant-General Loiserolles, a nobleman by birth and by nature; laying down his life here for his son. In the Prison of Saint-Lazare, the night before last, hurrying to the Grate to hear the Death-list read, he caught the name of his son. The son was asleep at the moment. "I am Loiserolles,"⁴ cried the old man: at Tinville's bar, an error in the Christian name is little; small objection was made.—The want of the notable person, again, is that of Deputy Paine! Paine has sat in the Luxembourg since January; and seemed forgotten; but Fouquier had pricked him at last. The Turnkey, List in hand, is marking with chalk the outer doors of to-morrow's *Fournée*.⁵ Paine's outer door

¹ Mémoires sur les Prisons, ii. 277.

²[5 P.M.]

³[Forty-five persons were in that day's batch: in one of the depositions against Fouquier in May '95 it is stated that a letter was written to him suggesting that, as there were troubles in Paris, it would be better to defer execution; Fouquier answered 'Nothing must interrupt the course of justice.' But the same day Dumas was arrested on the seat of judgment (Campardon, i. 419-20).]

⁴[Loizerolles was guillotined on 26th, not on 27th. M. Campardon is obliged to spoil the pretty story, though not wholly. It was Loizerolles père who was denounced by spies as being a "conspirator in the prison" (of Saint-Lazare), and it was he who was sent for on 26th: but the turnkey when asked for the register gave the name, age and quality of the son instead, and these appeared on the indictment: being a manifest error they were changed by the President of the Tribunal (Coffin-hall) to those of the father, whose person had been sent to the *Conciergerie*, though under the description of his son. The son afterwards believed that his father had sacrificed himself for him, and gave evidence to that effect at Fouquier's trial; but Fouquier was able to prove the denunciation of the father by his spies, and so to clear the Tribunal of the worst part of the charge (Campardon, i. 414; ii. 182).]

⁵[I find no accurate confirmation of this story; Paine was arrested Dec. 28th '93, and liberated Nov. 6th '94 (M. D. Conway, Life of Tom Paine, 104, 151). Mr. Conway repeats the story (pp. 131-2), but derives it from an old life of Paine by J. Cheetham (London, 1817), pp. 159-60 (whence Carlyle probably took it, for it is not

happened to be open, turned back on the wall; the Turnkey marked it on the side next him, and hurried on: another Turnkey came, and shut it; no chalk-mark now visible, the *Fournée* went without Paine. Paine's life lay not there.—

Our fifth-act of this natural Greek Drama, with its natural unities, can only be painted in gross; somewhat as that antique Painter, driven desperate, did the *foam*. For through this blessed July night, there is clangour, confusion very great, of marching troops; of Sections going this way, Sections going that; of Missionary Representatives reading Proclamations by torchlight; Missionary Legendre, who has raised force somewhere, emptying out the Jacobins, and flinging their key on the Convention table: "I have locked their door;¹ it shall be Virtue that reopens it." Paris, we say, is set against itself, rushing confused, as Ocean-currents do; a huge Mahlstrom, sounding there, under cloud of night. Convention sits permanent on this hand; Municipality most permanent on that. The poor prisoners hear tocsin and rumour; strive to bethink them of the signals apparently of hope. Meek continual Twilight streaming up, which will be Dawn and a Tomorrow, silvers the Northern hem of Night; it wends and wends there, that meek brightness, like a silent prophecy, along the great ring-dial of the Heaven. So still, eternal! and on Earth all is confused shadow and conflict; dissidence, tumultuous gloom and glare; and 'Destiny as yet sits wavering, and shakes her doubtful urn.'

About three in the morning, the dissident Armed Forces have *met*. Henriot's Armed Force stood ranked in the Place de Grève; and now Barras's, which he has recruited, arrives there; and they

in *Mémoires sur les Prisons*). Two separate accounts are given in these books, (i.) that Paine used to tell the story of the chalk mark in later years, saying that he knew nothing of it till afterwards, (ii.) that "in a letter to Washington" (Conway (p. 132) gives no date or verification of this) Paine attributed his being passed over to a violent fever from which he suffered at the time: the first thing he heard on his recovery was the fall of Robespierre, but he had 'good reason to believe' that he was included in a list of 200 proscribed, etc. The best evidence adduced in favour of the story is that Barère had evidently signed *some sort of* warrant against Paine, for he apologised to him for it afterwards (*ibid.* p. 134).]

¹[*Vid. infr.*, iii. 221. The Jacobins were in *Séance permanente*, but their Hall was not crowded, when Legendre appeared with two pistols and ten followers; Vivier, who was presiding, was one of the first to run away (d' Héricault, 505).]

front each other, cannon bristling against cannon. Citizens! cries the voice of Discretion loudly enough, Before coming to bloodshed, to endless civil-war, hear the Convention Decree read: 'Robespierre and all rebels Out of Law!'—Out of Law? There is terror in the sound. Unarmed Citizens disperse rapidly home. Municipal Cannoneers, in sudden whirl, anxiously unanimous, range themselves on the Convention side, with shouting. At which shout, Henriot descends from his upper room, far gone in drink as some say; finds his Place de Grève empty; the cannons' mouth turned towards him;¹ and on the whole,—that it is now the catastrophe!

Stumbling in again, the wretched drunk-sobered Henriot announces: "All is lost!" "*Misérable*, it is thou that hast lost it!" cry they; and fling him, or else he flings himself, out of window: far enough down; into masonwork and horror of cess-pool; not into death but worse. Augustin Robespierre follows him; with the like fate. Saint-Just, they say, called on Lebas to kill him; who would not. Couthon crept under a table; attempting to kill himself; not doing it.—On entering that Sanhedrim of Insurrection, we find all as good as extinct; undone, ready for seizure. Robespierre was sitting on a chair, with pistol-shot blown through not his head but his under-jaw; the suicidal hand had failed.² With prompt zeal, not without trouble, we gather these wrecked Conspirators; fish up even Henriot and

¹[At 2 A.M. the police officers in the *Mairie* were arrested, and shortly afterwards the decree outlawing the Robespierrists was read to Henriot's troops. Meanwhile Barras' troops had advanced to the *Grève* in two lines (by the *Quais* and by the *Rue Saint-Honoré*), had fraternised with and overpersuaded Henriot's men, already half-hearted. At 2.30 P.M., there being still about 40 members of the *Commune* sitting, the cannons were pointed at the *Hôtel-de-Ville*: then the *Communards* either tried to kill themselves, or awaited their arrest passively (d'Héricault, p. 491 *sqq.*.)]

²Méda, p. 384. (Méda asserts that it was he who, with infinite courage, though in a lefthanded manner, shot Robespierre. Méda got promoted for his services of this night; and died General and Baron. Few credited Méda, in what was otherwise incredible.)

[There is no possibility of ascertaining exactly what happened in the upper room of the *Hôtel-de-Ville*. A. C. Méda, or rather Merda (killed in Russia 1812, a Colonel not General), was a young man of 19 who had served in the paid National Guard of Paris and then entered the service of the Committee; he afterwards became a brave soldier, but was extremely vain and boastful; there is no reliance to be placed on the tract, and attempted suicide is the more probable explanation of Robespierre's wound; Courtois, who at least is no worse witness than Merda, affirmed that he saw him shoot himself (Campardon, i. 423; d'Héricault,

Augustin, bleeding and foul; pack them all, rudely enough, into carts; and shall, before sunrise, have them safe under lock and key. Amid shoutings and embracings.

Robespierre lay in an anteroom of the Convention Hall,¹ while his Prison-escort was getting ready; the mangled jaw bound up rudely with bloody linen: a spectacle to men. He lies stretched on a table, a deal-box his pillow; the sheath of the pistol is still clenched convulsively in his hand. Men bully him, insult him: his eyes still indicate intelligence; he speaks no word. 'He had—' on the sky-blue coat he had got made for the Feast of the *Être Suprême*—O Reader, can thy hard heart hold out against that? His trousers were nankeen; the stockings had fallen down over the ankles. He spake no word more in this world.

And so, at six in the morning, a victorious Convention adjourns. Report flies over Paris as on golden wings; penetrates the Prisons; irradiates the faces of those that were ready to perish: turnkeys and *moutons*, fallen from their high estate, look mute and blue. It is the 28th day of July, called 10th of Thermidor, year 1794.

Fouquier had but to identify; his Prisoners being already Out of Law.² At four in the afternoon, never before were the streets of Paris seen so crowded. From the Palais de Justice to the Place de la Révolution, for *thither* again go the Tumbrils this time, it is one dense stirring mass; all windows crammed; the very roofs and ridge-tiles budding forth human Curiosity, in strange gladness. The Death-tumbrils, with their motley Batch of Outlaws, some Twenty-three or so, from Maximilien to Mayor Fleuriot and Simon the Cordwainer, roll on. All eyes are on

p. 497). L. Bourdon however presented Merda to the Convention on 28th as the hero of the day. The tract is in Berville and Barrière's collection; it was written an IX., but not published until, by them, in 1825.]

¹[Robespierre was made a sort of show of on the long journey from the *Hôtel-de-Ville* to the Tuileries; he reached the Tuileries at 3.30 A.M.; his wounds were dressed at 5 A.M.: he was sent to the *Conciergerie* just after 10 A.M. (*ibid.* 501 *sqq.*.)]

²[Scellier presided at the identification; Fouquier and his substitute Liendon appeared for the Government: twenty-one persons in all were condemned to death; the next day (29th) sixty-two; and on 30th twelve; total of the "tail" of Robespierre 95 (Campardon, i. 429). Coffinhall was the only one who succeeded in escaping, by hiding, till Aug. 4th, when he was given up by a friend and executed on 5th.]

Robespierre's Tumbril, where he, his jaw bound in dirty linen, with his half-dead Brother, and half-dead Henriot, lie shattered ; their 'seventeen hours' of agony about to end. The Gendarmes point their swords at him, to show the people which is he. A woman springs on the Tumbril ; clutching the side of it with one hand ; waving the other Sibyl-like ; and exclaims : "The death of thee gladdens my very heart, *m'enivre de joie* ;" Robespierre opened his eyes ; "*Scélérat*, go down to Hell, with the curses of all wives and mothers !" — At the foot of the scaffold, they stretched him on the ground till his turn came. Lifted aloft, his eyes again opened ; caught the bloody axe. Samson wrenched the coat off him ; wrenched the dirty linen from his jaw : the jaw fell powerless, there burst from him a cry ; — hideous to hear and see. Samson, thou canst not be too quick !

Samson's work done, there bursts forth shout on shout of applause. Shout, which prolongs itself not only over Paris, but over France, but over Europe, and down to this generation. Deservedly, and also undeservedly. O unhappiest Advocate of Arras, wert thou worse than other Advocates ? Stricter man, according to his Formula, to his Credo and his Cant, of probities, benevolences, pleasures-of-virtue, and such like, lived not in that age. A man fitted, in some luckier settled age, to have become one of those incorruptible barren Pattern-Figures, and have had marble-tablets and funeral-sermons. His poor landlord, the Cabinet-maker in the Rue Saint-Honoré, loved him ;¹ his Brother died for him. May God be merciful to him, and to us !

This is the end of the Reign of Terror ; new glorious *Revolution* named of *Thermidor* ; of Thermidor 9th, year 2 ; which being interpreted into old slave-style means 27th of July 1794. Terror is ended ; and death in the Place de la Révolution, were the '*Tail of Robespierre*' once executed ; which service Fouquier in large Batches is swiftly managing.

¹[The whole family of the Duplays were imprisoned at Thermidor in *Sainte-Pélagie*, and Mme Duplay hanged herself there on July 29th ; Duplay had been made a juror of the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* by Robespierre. There is a notice of the Duplays in prison in Dauban (*Les Prisons*, 381). Duplay was acquitted by the *Tribunal* May 6th '95 (Campardon, ii. 210).]

BOOK VII
 VENDÉMIAIRE

CHAPTER I

DECADENT

How little did any one suppose that here was the end not of Robespierre only, but of the Revolution System itself! Least of all did the mutinying Committee-men suppose it; who had mutinied with no view whatever except to continue the National Regeneration with their own heads on their shoulders.¹ And yet so it verily was. The insignificant stone they had struck out, so insignificant anywhere else, proved to be the Keystone; the whole arch-work and edifice of Sansculottism began to loosen, to crack, to yawn; and tumbled piecemeal, with considerable rapidity, plunge after plunge; till the Abyss had swallowed it all, and in this upper world Sansculottism was no more.

For despicable as Robespierre himself might be, the death of Robespierre was a signal at which great multitudes of men, struck dumb with terror heretofore, rose out of their hiding-places; and,

¹[Parties were fairly equally balanced in the Convention, but we may distinguish three groups of leaders in the months immediately following 9th Thermidor, (i.) the Terrorists, Billaud, Collot and Barère; (ii.) the *Montagnards* now more generally called Thermidorians, Legendre, Lecointre, Tallien, Fréron; (iii.) the *Moderés*, Boissy d'Anglas, Durand-Maillane. The two latter gradually coalesced against the Terrorists, but the preponderance tended more and more to rest in the Moderate section of the group, and new leaders such as Merlin and Sieyès appear at its head; some few *Montagnards*, e.g., Cambon, were inclined to coalesce rather with the Terrorists; all this while public opinion was becoming more and more Constitutional-royalist, and not only the Thermidorians but the Convention itself was becoming more and more hateful to the mass of the Parisians.

Carlyle had evidently got so tired of his task by this time that he runs everything together in a few short (but very brilliant) chapters. Yet one of the most interesting points in the 'Natural History of Revolutions,' of which the earlier part of his book is such a brilliant study, is the gradual establishment of the old order in new forms; and in spite of the social disturbances of '95 it is to '95 quite as much as to the Consulate and the Empire that we ought to look for the consolidation of the 'legal conquests of the Revolution:' while, from the point of view of foreign politics, the years '94 and '95 are of transcendent importance.]

as it were, saw one another, how multitudinous they were; and began speaking and complaining. They are countable by the thousand and the million; who have suffered cruel wrong. Ever louder rises the plaint of such a multitude; into a universal sound, into a universal continuous peal, of what they call Public Opinion. Camille had demanded a 'Committee of Mercy,' and could not get it; but now the whole Nation resolves itself into a Committee of Mercy: the Nation has tried Sansculottism, and is weary of it. Force of Public Opinion! What King or Convention can withstand it? You in vain struggle: the thing that is rejected as 'calumnious' today must pass as veracious with triumph another day: gods and men have declared that Sansculottism cannot be. Sansculottism, on that Ninth night of Thermidor suicidally 'fractured its under-jaw;' and lies writhing, never to rise more.

Through the next fifteen months, it is what we may call the death-agony of Sansculottism. Sansculottism, Anarchy of the Jean-Jacques Evangel, having now got deep enough, is to perish in a new singular system of Culottism and Arrangement. For Arrangement is indispensable to man; Arrangement, were it grounded only on that old primary Evangel of Force, with Sceptre in the shape of Hammer! Be there method, be there order, cry all men; were it that of the Drill-sergeant! More tolerable is the drilled Bayonet-rank, than that undrilled Guillotine, incalculable as the wind.—How Sansculottism, writhing in death-throes, strove some twice, or even three times, to get on its feet again; but fell always, and was flung re-supine, the next instant; and finally breathed out the life of it, and stirred no more: this we are now, from a due distance, with due brevity, to glance at; and then—O Reader!—Courage, I see land!

Two of the first acts of the Convention, very natural for it after this Thermidor, are to be specified here: the first is, renewal of the Governing Committees.¹ Both *Sûreté Générale*

¹[There was a fierce debate on July 29th—31st on the subject of the renewal of the *Comité de Salut Public*; but the first actual victory of the Thermidorians over the Committee men was the suspension of *Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, carried on

and *Salut Public*, thinned by the Guillotine, need filling up: we naturally fill them up with Talliens, Frérons, victorious Thermidorian men. Still more to the purpose, we appoint that they shall, as Law directs, not in name only but in deed, be renewed and changed from period to period; a fourth part of them going out monthly.¹ The Convention will no more lie under bondage of Committees, under terror of death; but be a free Convention; free to follow its own judgment, and the Force of Public Opinion. Not less natural is it to enact that Prisoners and Persons under Accusation shall have right to demand some 'Writ of Accusation,' and see clearly what they are accused of. Very natural acts: the harbingers of hundreds not less so.

For now Fouquier's trade, shackled by Writ of Accusation, and legal proof, is as good as gone; effectual only against Robespierre's Tail.² The Prisons give up their Suspect; emit them faster and faster. The Committees see themselves besieged with Prisoners' friends; complain that they are hindered in their work: it is as with men rushing out of a crowded place; and obstructing one another.³ Turned are the tables: Prisoners

July 29th, to date a fortnight later (on motion of Bréard), in the teeth of Billaud. The power of the Committee would legally expire on Aug. 8th, and Barère proposed, as a *via media*, the choice of three Thermidorians to fill up the places of Robespierre, Couthon and Saint-Just. At last, after a fierce attack of the *Modérés* on the whole constitution of the Committee, it was carried to renew it by quarters monthly: the first six members elected (July 31st) were Bréard, Eschassériaux, Laloï, Thuriot, Treilhard, Tallien (nearly all Dantonists); these filled the places of Héault (dead) J. Bon-Saint-André, Prieur de la Marne (absent *en mission*), and of the three dead Terrorists. During the month of August the powers of the Committee were very much curtailed by various votes of the Convention. Any member might be re-elected to it after a month's exclusion, and, during the remaining life of the Convention, we find some sixty persons altogether having seats in it at different times: but those most often re-elected were Merlin of Douai, Cambacérés, Bréard, Delmas, Fourcroy, Treilhard, Sieyès, Rewbell, Boissy d'Anglas, Tallien, Debry, Aubry, Dubois-Crancé. Carnot is the only member of the Great Committee who was ever re-elected (Nov. 5th '94—March '95) (*see Gros, 121 sqq.*.)

¹[July 31st.]

²[Aug. 10th. Fouquier had been decreed accused on Aug. 1st on Fréron's motion, and the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* was suspended on 13th: Fouquier gave himself up at the *Conciergerie*; he demanded to be heard at the bar of the Convention (to reveal important secrets), and was heard on Aug. 8th; he had nothing to reveal, and was sent back to prison (Campardon, i. 431, *sqq.*). This was followed by a proposition of Merlin of Douai to continue the *Tribunal*, but with a completely new set of judges and jurors, and to repeal the law of 22 Prairial (carried).]

³[There were still, says Aulard (Lavisse et Rambaud, Hist. Gén. viii. 216) 5,261 prisoners on Sept. 6th, and 4,445 on Oct. 7th, but these were principally royalists: as the *Modérés* gained power during the year III. nearly every one was let out.]

pouring out in floods ; Jailors, *Moutons* and the Tail of Robespierre going now whither they were wont to send !—The Hundred and thirty-two Nantese Republicans, whom we saw marching in irons, have arrived ; shrunk to Ninety-four, the fifth man of them choked by the road. They arrive : and suddenly find themselves not pleaders for life, but denouncers to death.¹ Their Trial is for acquittal, and more. As the voice of a trumpet, their testimony sounds far and wide, mere atrocities of a Reign of Terror. For a space of nineteen days ; with all solemnity and publicity.² Representative Carrier, Company of Marat ; Noyadings, Loire Marriages, things done in darkness, come forth into light : clear is the voice of these poor resuscitated Nantese ; and Journals, and Speech, and universal Committee of Mercy reverberate it loud enough, into all ears and hearts. Deputation arrives from Arras ; denouncing the atrocities of Representative Lebon. A tamed Convention loves its own life : yet what help ? Representative Lebon, Representative Carrier must wend towards the Revolutionary Tribunal ;³ struggle and delay as we will, the cry of a Nation pursues them louder and louder. Them also Tinville must abolish ;—if indeed Tinville himself be not abolished.

We must note moreover the decrepit condition into which a once omnipotent Mother-Society has fallen. Legendre flung her keys on the Convention table, that Thermidor night ; her President was guillotined with Robespierre. The once mighty Mother came, some time after, with a subdued countenance,

¹[Carlyle makes a strange mistake : they arrived in Paris on Jan. '94 and were not brought to trial till Sept. 7th ; why they were kept in prison so long is a mystery, but we know that the Committee had been discontented with Carrier (*vid. supr.*, iii. 133) ; Fouquier asserted at his own trial that the depositions of accusation sent with these men appeared to him insufficient, and that he had wished to save their lives. (Campardon, ii. 13.)]

²[The trial lasted three weeks. Carrier was called as a witness, but was practically put upon his own trial (*see* especially the dialogue between him and Phélippe, quoted in Campardon (ii. 21)). It was followed by the trial of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, Oct. 16th ; of whom two were condemned to death, and thirty acquitted : but these were re-imprisoned immediately afterwards. During the trial of the Revolutionary Committee Carrier was brought to trial also (Nov. 27th), after a report by a Committee of 21 members of the Convention, and on Dec. 16th he was executed.]

³[Lebon was not brought before the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* at all, but before the Criminal Tribunal of his Department at Amiens, and executed Oct. 18th '95.]

begging back her keys: the keys were restored her;¹ but the strength could not be restored her; the strength had departed forever. Alas, one's day is done. Vain that the Tribune in mid-air sounds as of old: to the general ear it has become a horror, and even a weariness. By and by, Affiliation is prohibited:² the mighty mother sees herself suddenly childless; mourns as so hoarse a Rachel may.³

The Revolutionary Committees, without Suspects to prey upon, perish fast; as it were, of famine. In Paris the old Forty-eight of them are reduced to Twelve; their *Forty sous* are abolished: yet a little while, and Revolutionary Committees are no more.⁴ *Maximum* will be abolished; let Sansculottism find food where it can. Neither is there now any Municipality; any centre at the Townhall. Mayor Fleuriot and Company perished; whom we shall not be in haste to replace. The Townhall remains in a broken submissive state; knows not well what it is growing to; knows only that it is grown weak, and must obey. What if we should split Paris into, say, a Dozen separate Municipalities; incapable of concert! The Sections were thus rendered safe to act with:—or indeed might not the Sections themselves be abolished? You had then merely your Twelve manageable pacific Townships, without centre or subdivision,⁵ and sacred right of Insurrection fell into abeyance!

¹[Aug. 4th.]

²[Oct. 16th.]

³[The Jacobins were allowed to sit again on Aug. 4th, the Thermidorians hoping to dominate them after an *épuration*; but Billaud and Collot, especially the former, at once found support in the Club; and so, after a report on Oct. 16th, all affiliation of clubs, and all street placards signed by Clubs were prohibited, all existing Clubs were ordered to send in a list of their members, and on Nov. 12th the Jacobin Club was finally closed. Some of the old members of the club formed themselves into the *Société du Panthéon*, and for a short time in '95 actually met in the old Jacobin Convent. (See Aulard in *Rév. Fr.* xxvi. 392; Schmidt, ii. 234.)]

⁴Dec. 24th 1794; *Moniteur*, No. 97. [The Law of the 40 sous was repealed Aug. 22nd, Cambon having reported that many people drew their pay without attending. When the Revolutionary Committees were reduced to 12, the Section Assemblies were also reduced to one per *decade* (Schmidt, ii. 228 and 254). Schmidt collects a lot of opinion expressed in the streets for and against the abolition of the *Maximum* (chiefly in favour of abolition), all tending to show how great was the scarcity of food, wood and coal (*ibid.* 257).]

⁵October 1795 (Dulaure, viii. 441-2). [From July 27th—Aug. 31st '94 there was no Municipal organisation of Paris, and only a provisional police: on Aug. 31st twelve commissions of Municipal Government were created, the members of which were nominated by the Convention (*i.e.*, by the Committee); (see *Rév. Fr.* xxxiii. 253, 594.)]

So much is getting abolished ; fleeting swiftly into the Inane. For the Press speaks, and the human tongue ; Journals, heavy and light, in Philippic and Burlesque : a renegade Fréron, a renegade Prudhomme, loud they as ever, only the contrary way. And *Ci-devants* show themselves, almost parade themselves ; resuscitated as from death-sleep ; publish what death-pains they have had. The very Frogs of the Marsh croak with emphasis. Your protesting Seventy-three shall, with a struggle, be emitted out of Prison,¹ back to their seats ; your Louvets, Isnards, Lanjuinais, and wrecks of Girondism, recalled from their haylofts, and caves in Switzerland, will resume their place in the Convention : natural foes of Terror !²

Thermidorian Talliens, and mere foes of Terror, rule in this Convention, and out of it. The compressed Mountain shrinks silent more and more. Moderatism rises louder and louder : not as a tempest, with threatenings ; say rather, as the rushing of a mighty organ-blast, and melodious deafening Force of Public Opinion, from the Twenty-five million windpipes of a Nation all in Committee of Mercy : which how shall any detached body of individuals withstand ?

CHAPTER II

LA CABARUS

How, above all, shall a poor National Convention withstand it ? In this poor National Convention, broken, bewildered by long terror, perturbations and guillotinement, there is no Pilot, there is not now even a Danton, who could undertake to steer you any-

¹[Dec. 8th.]

²Deux Amis, xiii. 3-39. [March 8th '95. This measure divided the Convention more sharply than before. Tallien had no principles, but Merlin and the true *Montagnards* naturally disliked a disavowal of May 31st ; the restoration of the Gironde however turned the balance completely in favour of the *Modérés*. In all, 15 Girondists and Lanjuinais (whom, as I have said, one must not label as a Girondist) were restored on March 8th : among the 73 the most notable were Saladin, Mercier and Daunou.

Much more to the point was the restoration of the older administrators in the government offices (many of whom had been in prison), not merely the men of 1791, but of the *Ancien Régime* : e.g., Mallet hears in November that Rayneval, one of Montmorin's best Foreign-Office clerks, is likely to be made Foreign Minister (Mallet, ii. 118).]

whither, in such press of weather. The utmost a bewildered Convention can do, is to veer, and trim, and try to keep itself steady; and rush, undrowned, before the wind. Needless to struggle; to fling helm a-lee, and make 'bout ship! A bewildered Convention sails not in the teeth of the wind; but is rapidly blown round again. So strong is the wind, we say; and so changed; blowing fresher and fresher, as from the sweet South-west; your devastating Northeasters, and wild Tornado-gusts of Terror, blown utterly out! All Sansculottic things are passing away; all things are becoming Culottic.¹

Do but look at the cut of clothes; that light visible Result, significant of a thousand things which are not so visible. In winter 1793, men went in red nightcap; Municipals themselves in *sabots*; the very Citoyennes had to petition against such head-gear. But now in this winter 1794, where is the red nightcap? With the things beyond the Flood. Your moneyed Citoyen ponders in what elegantest style he shall dress himself; whether he shall not even dress himself as the Free Peoples of Antiquity. The more adventurous Citoyenne has already done it. Behold her, that beautiful adventurous Citoyenne: in costume of the Ancient Greeks, such Greek as Painter David could teach; her sweeping tresses snooded by glittering antique fillet; bright-dyed tunic of the Greek women; her little feet naked, as in Antique Statues, with mere sandals, and winding-strings of riband,—defying the frost!

There is such an effervescence of Luxury. For your Emigrant *Ci-devants* carried not their mansions and furnitures out of the country with them; but left them standing here: and in the swift changes of property, what with money coined on the Place de la Révolution, what with Army-furnishings, sales of Emigrant Domains and Church Lands and King's Lands, and

¹[Carlyle has drawn much of the rest of his book from Mercier (born 1740, died 1814), of whom there is an excellent appreciation in the Rev. de la Rév. (xiv. 223), pointing out his colossal vanity, his contempt for the past, his cynical effrontery, his careful concealment of what principles he possessed: yet the man had wit and courage, and showed the latter in voting against the King's death and protesting against June 2nd. He had already written the 'Tableau de Paris,' and now, when restored to the Convention, he immediately set to work to make what a modern journalist would call "copy" out of the Revolution with 'Le Nouveau Paris'.]

then with the Aladdin's-lamp of Agio in a time of Paper-money, such mansions have found new occupants. Old wine, drawn from *Ci-devant* bottles, descends new throats. Paris has swept herself, relighted herself; Salons, Soupers not Fraternal, beam once more with suitable effulgence, very singular in colour. The fair Cabarus is come out of Prison wedded to her red-gloomy Dis,¹ whom they say she treats too loftily: fair Cabarus gives the most brilliant soirées.² Round her is gathered a new Republican Army, of Citoyennes in sandals; *Ci-devants* or other: what remnants soever of the old grace survive are rallied there. At her right-hand, in this cause, labours fair Joséphine the Widow Beauharnais, though in straitened circumstances: intent, both of them, to blandish down the grimness of Republican austerity, and recivilise mankind.

Recivilise, even as of old they were civilised: by witchery of the Orphic fiddle-bow, and Euterpean rhythm; by the Graces, by the Smiles! Thermidorian Deputies are there in those soirées: Editor Fréron, *Orateur du Peuple*³; Barras, who has known other dances than the Carmagnole. Grim Generals of the Republic are there; in enormous horse-collar neckcloth, good against sabre-cuts; the hair gathered all into one knot, 'flowing down behind, fixed with a comb.' Among which latter do we not recognise, once more, that little bronze-complexioned Artillery-Officer of Toulon, home from the Italian Wars! Grim enough; of lean, almost cruel aspect: for he has been in trouble, in ill health; also in ill favour, as a man promoted, deservingly or not, by the Terrorists and Robespierre Junior. But does not Barras know him? Will not Barras speak a word for him? Yes,—if at any time it will serve Barras so to do. Somewhat forlorn of fortune, for the present, stands that Artillery-

¹[Dec. 26th.]

²[The ease with which the *Modérés* triumphed over the Thermidorians proper is well illustrated by the case of Tallien, who, though lending all his influence to the outcry against the Terrorists and being re-elected to the Committee in April '95, never possessed any power in it. His day was over when he returned from a mission to Quiberon, where he had persuaded Hoche to have the royalist prisoners massacred, July '95 (*vid. infr.*, iii. 231-2). 'La Cabarrus' divorced him in 1802.]

³[The *Orateur du Peuple* (*vid. supr.*, i. 384) was resumed by Fréron Sept. 11th and continued to Aug. 12th '95.]

Officer ; looks, with those deep earnest eyes of his, into a future as waste as the most. Taciturn ; yet with the strangest utterances in him, if you awaken him, which smite home, like light or lightning ;—on the whole, rather dangerous ? A ‘dissocial’ man ? Dissocial enough ; a natural terror and horror to all Phantasms, being himself of the genus Reality ! He stands here, without work or outlook, in this forsaken manner ;—glances nevertheless, it would seem, at the kind glance of Joséphine Beauharnais ; and, for the rest, with severe countenance, with open eyes, and closed lips, waits what will betide.¹

That the Balls, therefore, have a new figure this winter, we can see. Not Carmagnoles, rude ‘whirlblasts of rags,’ as Mercier called them, ‘precursors of storm and destruction :’ no, soft Ionic motions ; fit for the light sandal, and antique Grecian tunic ! Efflorescence of Luxury has come out : for men have wealth ; nay new-got wealth ; and under the Terror you durst not dance, except in rags. Among the innumerable kinds of Balls, let the hasty reader mark only this single one : the kind they call Victim Balls, *Bals à Victime*. The dancers, in choice costume, have all crape round the left arm : to be admitted, it needs that you be a *Victime* ; that you have lost a relative under the Terror. Peace to the Dead ; let us *dance* to their memory ! For in all ways one must dance.

¹[Napoleon was created Brigadier-General of Artillery, Dec. 22nd '93, in recognition of his services at Toulon. Augustin Robespierre recommended his case particularly to the Committee in April '94, and he was invited to draw up a plan of campaign for Italy ; was sent to Genoa in July '94, with a view to concerting plans for the seizure of Piedmont ; on his return to Nice at the end of July, he learned the fall of Robespierre, and Saliceti, one of his previous patrons, accused him of being *le faiseur des plans du dictateur* ; he was deprived and imprisoned Aug. 12th—29th '94 ; on Sept. 14th his rank of General was restored to him, and he was attached to a corps destined for the reconquest of Corsica from the English. This failing, he was out of employment and came to Paris May 10th '95. At the end of the month he was attached as supernumerary to the Army of the West (*i.e.*, to finish off La Vendée). It was then that Barras and Fréron, who had known him before Toulon, began to patronise him again, and saved him from having to go to the West in a subordinate capacity. Yet this again brought (Sept. 15th '95) his deprivation of rank, and it was not till Oct. 4th that Barras was able to give him the post of second in command of the Army of the Interior. It is pretty certain that, before the stroke of luck which came to him in Vendémiaire, Napoleon was not thinking of Joséphine at all, but of Désirée Clary, afterwards Queen of Sweden. (Fournier, *Nap. 1er*, i. 50-71.)]

It is very remarkable, according to Mercier, under what varieties of figure this great business of dancing goes on. 'The 'women,' says he, 'are Nymphs, Sultanas; sometimes Minervas, 'Junos, even Dianas. In lightly-unerring gyrations they swim 'there; with such earnestness of purpose; with perfect silence, 'so absorbed are they. What is singular,' continues he, 'the 'onlookers are as it were mingled with the dancers; form, as it 'were, a circumambient element round the different contre-'dances, yet without deranging them. It is rare, in fact, that 'a Sultana in such circumstances experiences the smallest col-'lision. Her pretty foot darts down, an inch from mine; she is 'off again; she is as a flash of light: but soon the measure recalls 'her to the point she set out from. Like a glittering comet she 'travels her ellipse; revolving on herself, as by a double effect of 'gravitation and attraction.'¹ Looking forward a little way, into Time, the same Mercier discerns *Merveilleuses* in 'flesh-coloured drawers' with gold cirelets; mere dancing Houris of an artificial Mahomet's-Paradise: much too Mahometan. Montgaillard, with his splenetic eye, notes a no less strange thing; that every fashionable Citoyenne you meet is in an interesting situation. Good Heavens, *every*? Mere pillows and stuffing! adds the acrid man;—such in a time of depopulation by war and guillotine, being the fashion.² No further seek its merits to disclose!

Behold also, instead of the old grim *Tappe-durs* of Robespierre, what new street-groups are these? Young men habited not in black-shag Carmagnole spencer, but in superfine *habit carré*, or spencer with rectangular tail appended to it; 'square-tailed coat,' with elegant anti-guillotinish speciality of collar; 'the hair plaited at the temples,' and knotted back, long-flowing, in military wise: young men of what they call the *Muscadin* or Dandy species! Fréron, in his fondness, names them *Jeunesse Dorée*, Golden or Gilt Youth. They have come out, these Gilt Youths, in a kind of resuscitated state; they wear crape round the left arm, such of them as were *Victims*. More, they carry clubs loaded with lead; in an angry manner: any *Tappe-dur*, or

¹ Mercier, *Nouveau Paris*, iii. 138, 153.

² Montgaillard, iv. 436-42.

remnant of Jacobinism they may fall in with, shall fare the worse. They have suffered much: their friends guillotined; their pleasures, frolics, superfine collars ruthlessly repressed: 'ware now the base Red Nightcaps who did it! Fair Cabarus and the Army of Greek sandals smile approval. In the Théâtre Feydeau,¹ young Valour in square-tailed coat eyes Beauty in Greek sandals, and kindles by her glances: Down with Jacobinism! No Jacobin hymn or demonstration, only Thermidorian ones,² shall be permitted here: we beat down Jacobinism with clubs loaded with lead.

But let any one who has examined the Dandy nature, how petulant it is, especially in the gregarious state, think what an element, in sacred right of insurrection, this Gilt Youth was! Broils and battery; war without truce or measure! Hateful is Sansculottism, as Death and Night. For indeed is not the Dandy *culottic*, habilitory, by law of existence; 'a cloth-animal; one that lives, moves and has his being in cloth?'

So goes it, waltzing, bickering; fair Cabarus, by Orphic witchery, struggling to recivilise mankind. Not unsuccessfully, we hear. What utmost Republican grimness can resist Greek sandals, in Ionic motion, the very toes covered with gold rings?³ By degrees the indisputablest new-politeness rises; grows, with vigour. And yet, whether, even to this day, that inexpressible tone of society known under the old Kings, when Sin had 'lost all its deformity' (with or without advantage to us), and airy Nothing had obtained such a local habitation and establishment

¹[The *Théâtre de la Rue Feydeau* was the rallying place of the Royalist reactionaries; it was the predecessor of the *Opéra Comique*, and the most fashionable theatre of Paris in the ensuing period. It was the representation of a Republican piece called the *Concert de la Rue Feydeau*, at the *Théâtre Audinot*, early in Feb. '95, which provoked the first riots of the *Jeunesse dorée* against the Government. (See Schmidt, ii. 280, sqq.)]

²[Especially the celebrated *Réveil du peuple* (words by Souriguières de Saint-Marc, music by Gaveaux) beginning

'Peuple Français, peuple des frères,
Peux-tu voir, sans frémir d'horreur,
Le Crime arborer les bannières
Du carnage et de la terreur?']

³*Ibid.*, Mercier (*ubi suprà*).

as she never had,—be recovered? Or even, whether it be not lost beyond recovery?¹—Either way, the world must contrive to struggle on.

CHAPTER III

QUIBERON

BUT indeed do not these long-flowing hair-queues of a *Jeunesse Dorée* in semi-military costume betoken, unconsciously, another still more important tendency? The Republic, abhorrent of her Guillotine, loves her Army.

And with cause. For, surely, if good fighting be a kind of honour, as it is in its season; and be with the vulgar of men, even the chief kind of honour; then here is good fighting, in good season, if there ever was. These Sons of the Republic, they rose, in mad wrath, to deliver her from Slavery and Cimmeria. And have they not done it? Through Maritime Alps, through gorges of Pyrenees, through Low Countries, Northward along the Rhine-valley, far is Cimmeria hurled back from the sacred Motherland. Fierce as fire, they have carried her Tricolor over the faces of all her enemies;—over scarped heights, over cannon-batteries, it has flown victorious, winged with rage. She has ‘Eleven hundred-thousand fighters on foot,’ this Republic: ‘at one particular moment she had,’ or supposed she had, ‘Seventeen-hundred thousand.’² Like a ring of lightning, they, volleying and *ça-ira*-ing, begirdle her from shore to shore. Cimmerian Coalition of Despots recoils, smitten with astonishment and strange pangs.

Such a fire is in these Gaelic Republican men; high-blazing; which no Coalition can withstand! Not scutcheons, with four degrees of nobility; but *ci-devant* Sergeants, who have had to

¹De Staël, *Considérations*, iii. c. 10, &c.

²Toulangeon, iii. c. 7; v. c. 10 (p. 194). [Sorel well points out (iv. 131) that the Government could not afford to disband the armies, as, if it did, itself and the Convention would probably be overthrown by some victorious general—the continuance of the war then became a necessity, when the desire of every one except the Government was really for peace. Von Sybel (iii. 316) gives the figures at 871,000 in all, 690,000 effective. But *cf.* Appx. on Army.]

clutch Generalship out of the cannon's throat, a Pichegru, a Jourdan, a Hoche lead them on.¹ They have bread, they have iron; 'with bread and iron you can get to China.'—See Pichegru's soldiers, this hard winter, in their looped and windowed destitution, in their 'strawrope shoes and cloaks of bast-mat,' how they overrun Holland, like a demon-host, the ice having bridged all waters; and rush shouting from victory to victory! Ships in the Texel are taken by hussars on horseback: fled is York; fled is the Stadtholder, glad to escape to England, and leave Holland to fraternise.² Such a Gaelic fire, we say, blazes in this People, like the conflagration of grass and dry-jungle; which no mortal can withstand—for the moment.

And even so it will blaze and run, scorching all things; and, from Cadiz to Archangel, mad Sansculottism, drilled now into Soldiership, led on by some 'armed Soldier of Democracy' (say, that monosyllabic Artillery-Officer), will set its foot cruelly on the necks of its enemies; and its shouting and their shrieking shall fill the world!—Rash Coalised Kings, such a fire have ye kindled; yourselves fireless, *your* fighters animated only by drill-sergeants, mess-room moralities, and the drummer's cat! However, it is begun, and will not end: not for a matter of twenty years. So long, this Gaelic fire, through its successive changes of colour and character, will blaze over the face of Europe, and

¹[Carlyle does not mention the fact of Hoche's arrest (April 8th '94), and deliverance at Thermidor. It is usually to Saint-Just that the arrest is attributed, but Carnot, who was angry with Hoche for not seizing Trier and for not squeezing the population of the Rhenish Electorates more, cannot be exonerated. (See Chuquet, *Hoche et la lutte pour l'Alsace* (Paris, 1893), p. 233.)]

²January 19th 1795 (Montgaillard, iv. 287-311). [When the general retirement of the Allies took place in the four months following Jourdan's victory of Fleurus, it became manifest that Holland was at the mercy of the French Republic. The English garrison was profoundly unpopular, and the little Dutch army of 30,000 as good as useless. Pichegru took Bois-le-Duc Oct. 10th, and Nymwegen Nov. 3rd, caressed the republican party (already strong there and bitterly hostile to England), promising them independence and a French alliance. The English troops having left Holland, the Stadtholder at the beginning of Dec. approached the French Government with proposals of peace. These were badly received, as the Committee was quite determined to revolutionise Holland. The early frost (Dec. 20th) destroyed the natural defences of the country. Pichegru, who feared to be cut off by a thaw, hesitated, but was compelled by the *Représentants en mission* to go on, Dec. 27th. On Jan. 25th the submission of Holland was announced in the Convention: the Stadtholder escaped to England on 18th (Sorel, iv. 164, 197 sqq.)]

afflict and scorch all men :—till it provoke all men ; till it kindle another kind of fire, the Teutonic kind, namely ; and be swallowed up, so to speak, in a day ! For there is a fire comparable to the burning of dry-jungle and grass ; most sudden, high-blazing : and another fire which we liken to the burning of coal, or even of anthracite coal ; difficult to kindle, but then which no known thing will put out. The ready Gaelic fire, we can remark further, —and remark not in Pichegrus only, but in innumerable Voltaires, Racines, Laplaces, no less ; for a man, whether he fight, or sing, or think, will remain the same unity of a man,—is admirable for roasting eggs, in every conceivable sense. The Teutonic anthracite again, as we see in Luthers, Leibnitzes, Shakespeares, is preferable for smelting metals. How happy is our Europe that has both kinds !—

But be this as it may, the Republic is clearly triumphing. In the spring of the year, Mentz Town again sees itself besieged ; will again change master : did not Merlin the Thionviller, ‘ with wild beard and look,’ say it was not for the last time they saw him there ? The Elector of Mentz circulates among his brother Potentates this pertinent query, Were it not advisable to treat of Peace ? Yes ! answers many an Elector from the bottom of his heart.¹ But, on the other hand, Austria hesitates ; finally refuses, being subsidied by Pitt. As to Pitt, whoever hesitate, he, suspending his Habeas-corporis, suspending his Cash-payments, stands

¹[There was no fresh siege of Mainz, because none was needed : the Prussians delivered their last blows on the Rhine at Kaiserslautern in Oct. '94, and were then withdrawn : the whole left bank was open. In the same month a Provisional Government was established at Aix-la-Chapelle for all countries between the Meuse and the Rhine, which proceeded to plunder the rich inhabitants without mercy (Sorel, iv. 162). The most influential party in the French Government got firmly hold of the principle of “ natural frontiers,” and the limits of old Gaul (Rhine, Alps, Pyrenees) ; and this meant the absorption of the greater part of the electorates of Mainz, Trier and Köln. In the state to which they were reduced the Rhenish populations of the left bank would have welcomed this solution ; the peace of Bâle (April 5th '95) took away from the Governments of these countries all hope of protection except from Austria (and they knew that not much hope could be placed in her) ; the two Land-graves of Hesse showed themselves disposed to negotiate before the end of April, though the Elector of Mainz wrote of ‘ defending himself to the last ’ unless France renounced the Rhine frontier, April 15th (*ibid.* 301). Carlyle probably refers here to the proposal of the Elector of Mainz to the Diet of the Empire that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden should be arbitrators between France and the Empire. (Von Sybel, iv. 130.)]

inflexible,—spite of foreign reverses ; spite of domestic obstacles, of Scotch National Conventions and English Friends of the People, whom he is obliged to arraign, to hang, or even to see acquitted with jubilee : a lean inflexible man. The Majesty of Spain, as we predicted, makes Peace ;¹ also the Majesty of Prussia : and there is a Treaty of Bâle.² Treaty with black Anarchists and Regicides ! Alas, what help ? You cannot hang this Anarchy ; it is like to hang you : you must needs treat with it.

Likewise, General Hoche has even succeeded in pacificating La Vendée. Rogue Rossignol and his 'Infernal Columns' have vanished : by firmness and justice, by sagacity and industry, General Hoche has done it. Taking 'Movable Columns,' not infernal ; girdling-in the Country ; pardoning the submissive, cutting down the resistive, limb after limb of the Revolt is brought under. La Rochejacquelin, last of our Nobles, fell in battle ; Stofflet himself makes terms ; Georges-Cadoudal is back to Brittany, among his Chouans : the frightful gangrene of La Vendée seems veritably extirpated. It has cost, as they reckon in round numbers, the lives of a Hundred-thousand fellow-mortals ; with noyadings, conflagrations by infernal column, which defy arithmetic. This is the La Vendée War.³

Nay in few months, it does burst up once more, but once only ; —blown upon by Pitt, by our Ci-devant Puisaye of Calvados,

¹[After the capture of Fontarabia and Saint-Sébastien (early in August), the recapture of Bellegarde (Sept. 17th) and the invasion of the Basque provinces which followed, the Spanish Government had no resource but to sue for peace : the negotiations were slow, but they were conducted with great skill by Barthélemy at Bâle ; and the death of Louis XVII. (whom the Spanish Government honourably refused to forsake) brought about the conclusion of the Treaty, July 22nd, France giving up all her conquests, and contenting herself with the illusory cession of the Spanish half of San Domingo (Sorel, iv. 369).]

²April 5th 1795 ; Montgaillard, iv. 319. [By the treaty of Bâle, April 5th, (i.) the French troops are to evacuate the Prussian possessions on the right bank of the Rhine, but to continue to occupy those on the left ; (ii.) all engagements as to the final settlement of the left bank are to be avoided until the general peace with the Empire ; (iii.) Prussia will undertake nothing against Holland or any of the States conquered by France ; (iv.) North Germany is to be neutral behind a 'line of demarcation' under the guarantee of the King of Prussia (Sorel, iv. 285).]

³Hist. de la Guerre de la Vendée, par M. le Comte de Vauban ; Mémoires de Mme de la Rochejacquelin, etc. [See Appx. on La Vendée. The execution of Stofflet, Feb. 25th 1796, and Charette, March 29th, must be taken as the final dates of the pacification, although a few bands under Autichamp, Scépeaux and Sapinaud kept the field a few weeks longer.]

and others. In the month of July 1795, English Ships will ride in Quiberon roads. There will be debarkation of chivalrous *Ci-devants*, of volunteer Prisoners-of-war—eager to desert; of fire-arms, Proclamations, clothes-chests, Royalists and specie. Whereupon also, on the Republican side, there will be rapid stand-to-arms; with ambuscade marchings by Quiberon beach, at midnight; storming of Fort Penthievre; war-thunder mingling with the roar of the nightly main; and such a morning light as has seldom dawned: debarkation hurled back into its boats, or into the devouring billows, with wreck and wail;—in one word, a *Ci-devant* Puisaye as totally ineffectual here as he was in Calvados, when he rode from Vernon Castle without boots.¹

Again, therefore, it has cost the lives of many a brave man. Among whom the whole world laments the brave Son of Sombreuil. Ill-fated family! The father and younger son went to the guillotine; the heroic daughter languishes, reduced to want, hides her woes from History: the elder son perishes here; shot by military tribunal as an Emigrant; Hoche himself cannot save him. If all wars, civil and other, are misunderstandings, what a thing must right-understanding be!

CHAPTER IV

LION NOT DEAD

THE Convention, borne on the tide of Fortune towards foreign Victory, and driven by the strong wind of Public Opinion towards Clemency and Luxury, is rushing fast; all skill of pilotage is needed, and more than all, in such a velocity.

Curious to see, how we veer and whirl, yet must ever whirl

¹ *Deux Amis*, xiv. 94-106; Puisaye, *Mémoires*, iii.-vii. [The project of a descent on Brittany was first suggested to Pitt in Sept. '94, and Puisaye was entrusted with the task of recruiting *Émigrés*: the Comte d'Artois was invited to take part; on June 27th 3,600 men were disembarked at Quiberon (*Émigrés* and French prisoners who had become Royalists to escape from English prisons), with munitions of war for 6,000 men; 4,000 or 5,000 *Vendéans* joined them: but the Committee sent off Tallien and Blad as Commissioners extraordinary to the army of the West; on July 20th Hoche annihilated the whole *Émigré-Vendéan* force, and took 6,000 prisoners, of whom 1,000 were *Émigrés*: 690 of these were shot, against the will of Hoche, by the orders of the Convention conveyed by Tallien. (*Sorel*, iv. 365, *sqq.*)]

round again, and scud before the wind. If, on the one hand, we re-admit the Protesting Seventy-three, we, on the other hand, agree to consummate the Apotheosis of Marat; lift his body from the Cordeliers Church, and transport it to the Pantheon of Great Men,—flinging out Mirabeau to make room for him. To no purpose: so strong blows Public Opinion! A Gilt Youthhood, in plaited hair-tresses, tears down his Busts from the Théâtre Feydeau; tramples them under foot; scatters them, with vociferation, into the Cesspool of Montmartre.¹ Swept is his Chapel from the Place du Carrousel; the Cesspool of Montmartre will receive his very dust. Shorter godhood had no divine man. Some four months in this Pantheon, Temple of All the Immortals; then to the Cesspool, grand *Cloaca* of Paris and the World! 'His Busts at one time amounted to four thousand.' Between Temple of All the Immortals and Cloaca of the World, how are poor human creatures whirled!

Furthermore the question arises, When will the Constitution of *Ninety-three*, of 1793, come into action? Considerate heads surmise, in all privacy, that the Constitution of Ninety-three will never come into action. Let them busy themselves to get ready a better.

Or, again, where now are the Jacobins? Childless, most decrepit, as we saw, sat the mighty Mother; gnashing not teeth, but empty gums, against a traitorous Thermidorian Convention and the current of things. Twice were Billaud, Collot, and Company accused in Convention, by a Lecointre, by a Legendre; and the second time, it was not voted calumnious. Billaud from the Jacobin tribune says,² "The lion is not dead, he is only sleep-

¹ *Moniteur*, du 25 Sept. 1794, du 4 Février 1795. [On Sept. 21st '94 Marat was transferred to the *Pantheon* (*vid. supr.*, ii. 79; iii. 68); but on Feb. 27th '95 his bones were removed to the neighbouring cemetery of *Ste Geneviève* (Cabanès, 256 *sqq.*.)]

² [Nov. 3rd. The first, but futile, denunciation of Billaud, Collot, and Barère by Lecointre was Aug 29th; the words of Billaud at the Jacobins on Nov. 3rd were used in consequence of the Convention decreeing an inquiry into the conduct of Carrier, whom the Club protected, and the speech led to the closing of the Club already described. The second denunciation led to the appointment of a committee of 21 to examine the conduct of Collot, Billaud, Barère, Vadier, Dec. 27th, which reported (by Saladin) March 18th '95. In Dec. '94 Lecointre published his book 'Les Crimes de sept membres des Anciens Comités,' which was printed by order of the Convention. Aulard in his introduction to 'Recueil des Actes du

ing." They ask him in Convention, What he means by the awakening of the lion? And bickerings, of an extensive sort, arose in the Palais-Égalité between *Tappe-durs* and the Gilt Youthhood; cries of "Down with the Jacobins, the *Jacoquins*," *coquin* meaning scoundrel! The Tribune in mid-air gave battle-sound; answered only by silence and uncertain gasps. Talk was, in Government Committees, of 'suspending' the Jacobin Sessions. Hark, there!—it is in Allhallow-time, or on the Hallow-eve itself, month *ci-devant* November, year once named of Grace 1794, sad eve for Jacobinism,—volley of stones dashing through our windows, with jingle and execration! The female Jacobins, famed *Tricoteuses* with knitting-needles, take flight; are met at the doors by a Gilt Youthhood and 'mob of four thousand persons; ' are hooted, flouted, hustled; fustigated, in a scandalous manner, *cotillons retroussés*;—and vanish in mere hysterics. Sally out, ye male Jacobins! The male Jacobins sally out; but only to battle, disaster and confusion. So that armed Authority has to intervene; and again on the morrow to intervene; and suspend the Jacobin Sessions forever and a day.¹—Gone are the Jacobins; into invisibility; in a storm of laughter and howls. Their Place is made a Normal School, the first of the kind seen; it then vanishes into a 'Market of Thermidor Ninth; ' into a Market of Saint-Honoré, where is now peaceable chaffering for poultry and greens. The solemn temples, the great globe itself; the baseless fabric! Are not we such stuff, we and this world of ours, as Dreams are made of?

Maximum being abrogated, Trade was to take its own free

Comité de Salut Public' enumerates seven answers to this book published by the Committee men, while the working members of the old Committee, Carnot, C. A. Prieur, Lindet all replied in their places in the Convention. Early in Jan. '95 also Courtois issued his "Report on the papers found in Robespierre's house," which inculpated many of the Terrorists. But this was not a complete report; nor even was the second edition of it (with additions), published in 1828, complete (Aulard, Recueil, Introduction). Two other pamphlets of immense effect were Morellet's 'Le Cri des Familles' (Dec. '94); and 'La Cause des Pères' (May '95), which led to the partial restoration of the property of the victims of the Terror (Lavergne, Économistes Français, 370-2.)

¹ Moniteur, Séances du 10-12 Novembre 1794; Deux Amis, xiii. 43-49. [Nov. 12th.]

course.¹ Alas, Trade, shackled, topsyturvied in the way we saw, and now suddenly let-go again, can for the present take no course at all; but only reel and stagger. There is, so to speak, no Trade whatever for the time being. Assignats, long sinking, emitted in such quantities, sink now with an alacrity beyond parallel. “*Combien ?*” said one, to a Hackney-coachman, “What fare?” “Six thousand livres,” answered he: some three hundred pounds sterling, in Paper-money.² Pressure of Maximum withdrawn, the things it compressed likewise withdraw. ‘Two ounces of bread per day’ is the modicum allotted: ³ wide-waving, doleful are the Bakers’ Queues; Farmers’ houses are become pawnbrokers’ shops.

One can imagine, in these circumstances, with what humour Sansculottism growled in its throat, “*La Cabarus ;*” beheld Cidevants return dancing, the Thermidor effulgence of recivilisation, and Balls in flesh-coloured drawers. Greek tunics and sandals; hosts of *Muscadins* parading, with their clubs loaded with lead;—and we here, cast out, abhorred, ‘picking offals from the street;’ ⁴ agitating in Baker’s Queue for our two ounces of bread! Will the Jacobin lion, which they say is meeting secretly ‘at the Archevêché, in *bonnet rouge* with loaded pistols,’ not awaken? Seemingly, not. Our Collot, our Billaud, Barrère, Vadier, in these last days of March 1795,⁵ are found worthy of *Déportation*, of Banishment beyond seas; and shall, for the present, be trundled off to the Castle of Ham. The lion is dead;—or writhing in death-throes!

¹[The decree of April 27th '95, allowing free export of gold and silver, practically reopened the *Bourse*: but for the moment sent up the prices of everything (remember this came between the Insurrections of Germinal and Prairial). (Schmidt, ii. 326.)]

²Mercier, ii. '94 ('1st Feb. 96; at the *Bourse* of Paris, the gold louis of 20 francs in silver costs 5,300 francs in assignats,' Montgaillard, iv. 419). [Cf. Schmidt, ii. 327, where a gold louis is offered for sale for 900 francs in the *Palais Royal* (April '95).]

³[This is a well-known story: but the lowest figure quoted by Von Sybel, generally an extremely accurate authority on economics (iv. 309), is just before the Insurrection of Prairial, *i.e.*, half a pound of bread and half a pound of rice. This is not enough to keep life in; and there was an enormous floating population not domiciled and so not entitled to a place in the *queues*.]

⁴Fantin Desodoards, *Histoire de la Révolution*, vii. c. 4.

⁵[April 1st.]

Behold, accordingly, on the day they call Twelfth of Germinal (which is also called First of April, not a lucky day), how lively are these streets of Paris once more! Floods of hungry women, of squalid hungry men; ejaculating: "Bread, Bread, and the Constitution of Ninety-three!" Paris has risen, once again, like the Ocean-tide; is flowing towards the Tuileries, for Bread and a Constitution. Tuileries Sentries do their best; but it serves not: the Ocean-tide sweeps them away; inundates the Convention Hall itself; howling, "Bread and the Constitution!"¹

Unhappy Senators, unhappy People, there is yet, after all toils and broils, no Bread, no Constitution. "*Du pain, pas tant de longs discours*, Bread, not bursts of Parliamentary eloquence!" so wailed the Menads of Maillard, five years ago and more; so wail ye to this hour. The Convention, with unalterable countenance, with what thought one knows not, keeps its seat² in this waste howling chaos; rings its storm-bell from the Pavilion of Unity. Section Lepelletier, old *Filles Saint-Thomas*, who are of the money-changing species; these and Gilt Youthhood fly to the rescue: sweep chaos forth again, with levelled bayonets. Paris is declared 'in a state of siege.' Pichegru, Conqueror of Holland, who happens to be here, is named Commandant, till the disturbance end. He, in one day so to speak, ends it. He accomplishes the transfer of Billaud, Collot and Company; dissipating all opposition 'by two cannon-shots,' blank cannon-shots, and the terror of his name; and thereupon, announcing, with a Laconicisms which should be

¹[It must be thoroughly understood that the Insurrection of 12th Germinal was a social and economic movement, not a political one; it was utilised by some of the *Montagnards* (furious at the restoration of the relics of the Girondist party, which was on March 8th) for political ends, but the question in the minds of the insurgents was simply the price of bread; one particular decree of the Convention, that citizens who had no fixed domicile in Paris, but only lodgings, should not be entitled to the regulation number of ounces of bread per day, excited popular rage: had the Convention been able to keep to its promise of March 13th, of 1 lb. per day per man, there would have been no disturbance; on 19th the unstable Lecointre, who had gone over to the Terrorists again, demanded the putting in force of the Constitution of '93: on 21st the Convention voted that if it was disturbed by insurrection it would migrate to Châlons: and further voted to proceed to the drawing up of a new Constitution. (Schmidt, ii. 307-12; Von Sybel, iv. 552, *sqq.*)]

²[For four hours.]

imitated, "Representatives, your decrees are executed,"¹ lays down his Commandantship.²

This Revolt of Germinal, therefore, has passed, like a vain cry. The Prisoners rest safe in Ham, waiting for ships; some nine-hundred 'chief Terrorists of Paris' are disarmed.³ Sansculottism, swept forth with bayonets, has vanished, with its misery, to the bottom of Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau.—Time was when Usher Maillard with Menads could alter the course of Legislation; but that time is not. Legislation seems to have got bayonets; Section Lepelletier takes its firelock, not for us! We retire to our dark dens; our cry of hunger is called a Plot of Pitt; the Saloons glitter, the flesh-coloured Drawers gyrate as before. It was for "*The Cabarus*" then, and her *Muscadins* and Money-changers that we fought? It was for Balls in flesh-coloured drawers that we took Feudalism by the beard, and did, and dared, shedding our blood like water? Expressive Silence, muse thou their praise!—

CHAPTER V

LION SPRAWLING ITS LAST

REPRESENTATIVE Carrier went to the Guillotine, in December last; protesting that he acted by orders. The Revolutionary Tribunal, after all it has devoured, has now only, as Anarchic things do, to devour itself. In the early days of May, men see a remarkable thing: Fouquier-Tinville pleading at the Bar once his own. He and his chief Jurymen, Leroi *August-Tenth*, Jurymen Vilate, a Batch of Sixteen; pleading hard, protesting that they acted by orders: but pleading in vain. Thus men break the axe with which they have done hateful things; the axe itself having grown hateful. For the rest Fouquier died hard enough:⁴

¹ Moniteur, Séance du 13 Germinal (2d April), 1795.

²[April 3rd.]

³[Sixteen other Jacobin leaders were arrested, Choudieu, Chasles, Léonard Bourdon, Duhem, Ruamps, Amar, Cambon, Thuriot, Maignet, Levasseur, Leconte, Granet, Hentz, Bayle, Crassous, Fousseidoire.]

⁴[Fouquier's trial may be read at length in Campardon, ii. (151 *sqq.*). It began March 28th and ended May 6th. Twenty-four judges and jurors of the *Tribunal*

“Where are thy Batches?” howled the people.—“Hungry *canaille*,” asked Fouquier, “is thy Bread cheaper, wanting them?”

Remarkable Fouquier; once but as other Attorneys and Law-beagles, which hunt ravenous on this Earth, a well-known phasis of human nature; and now thou art and remainest the most remarkable Attorney that ever lived and hunted in the Upper Air! For, in this terrestrial Course of Time, there was to be an *Avalar* of Attorneyism; the Heavens had said, Let there be an Incarnation, not divine, of the venatory Attorney-spirit which keeps its eye on the bond only;—and lo, this was it; and they have attorneyed it in its turn. Vanish, then, thou rat-eyed Incarnation of Attorneyism; who at bottom wert but as other Attorneys and too hungry sons of Adam! Juryman Vilate had striven hard for life, and published, from his Prison, an ingenious Book, not unknown to us; but it would not stand: he also had to vanish; and this his Book of the *Secret Causes of Thermidor*, full of lies, with particles of truth in it undiscoverable otherwise, is all that remains of him.

Revolutionary Tribunal has done; but vengeance has not done. Representative Lebon, after long struggling, is handed over to the ordinary Law Courts, and by them guillotined.¹ Nay at Lyons and elsewhere, resuscitated Moderatism, in its vengeance, will not wait the slow process of Law; but bursts into the Prisons, sets fire to the Prisons: burns some threescore imprisoned Jacobins to dire death, or chokes them ‘with the smoke of straw.’² There go vengeful truculent ‘Companies of Jesus,’ ‘Companies of the Sun;’ slaying Jacobinism wherever they meet with it; flinging it into the Rhône-stream; which once more bears seaward a horrid cargo.³ Whereupon, at Toulon,

Révolutionnaire were brought to trial with him: and of these there were condemned to death himself, Foucault, Scellier, Garnier-Launay, Leroy-Dix-Août, Renaudin, Prieur, Vilate, Châtelet, Girard, Boyaval, Benoît, Lanne, Verney, Dupannier and Herman. They were executed on May 7th. It was the last serious work of the *Tribunal*, which held its last sitting on May 17th, and was abolished on 31st, its business being transferred to the ordinary Criminal Tribunals in each department.]

¹[Oct. 18th '95.]

²[May 5th '95.]

³Moniteur, du 27 Juin, du 31 Août 1795; Deux Amis, xiii. 121-9. [This refers to the so-called ‘White Terror’ of which Lyons, Toulon, Marseilles, Avignon,

Jacobinism rises in revolt;¹ and is like to hang the National Representatives.²—With such action and reaction, is not a poor National Convention hard bested? It is like the settlement of winds and waters, of seas long tornado-beaten; and goes on with jumble and with jangle. Now flung aloft, now sunk in trough of the sea, your Vessel of the Republic has need of all pilotage and more.

What Parliament that ever sat under the Moon had such a series of destinies as this National Convention of France? It came together to make the Constitution; and instead of that, it has had to make nothing but destruction and confusion: to burn up Catholicisms, Aristocratisms; to worship Reason and dig Salt-petre; to fight Titanically with itself and with the whole world. A Convention decimated by the Guillotine; above the tenth man has bowed his neck to the axe. Which has seen Carmagnoles danced before it, and patriotic strophes sung amid Church-spoils; the wounded of the Tenth of August defile in handbarrows; and, in the Pandemonial Midnight, Égalité's dames in tricolor drink lemonade, and spectrum of Sieyès

Orange, Aix and Arles were the principal centres. Few of the actual 'Red' Terrorists in these cities had been arrested, and, although there were undoubtedly Royalist agencies mixed up in the movement that now followed, at bottom personal revenge was the cause of the murders. During the early months of '95 several armed bands were formed in Lyons, from whence the movement spread to other cities of the South, the victims being principally the members of the old Revolutionary Committees, or the executioners employed by the proconsuls in '93—4. The outbreak of May 5th was simply a horrible piece of lynch law; one of Collot's old spies was being tried for his life and the mob broke in to the *Tribunal*, murdered the man, rushed to the prisons, and killed 97 imprisoned Terrorists. The Convention sent in haste a special Commission, which included Isnard, to maintain order, but its members seem to have sympathised with the assassins. Thirty Terrorists were murdered at Aix on May 11th, and it was this that led to the rising of some Jacobin *outriers* at Toulon, prepared to march on Marseilles. The last of these massacres took place at Marseilles, June 5th; but isolated murders of Terrorists occurred from time to time during the next two or three years. (Von Sybel, iv. 307-8.)

¹[May 17th.]

²[It is curious that Toulon, which had never been Jacobin before, should have turned Jacobin at the date of the White Terror, but the explanation must be sought in the number of workmen thrown out of employment by the utter ruin of the French Marine, which followed the victories of England, and the devastation of the city by the Jacobins at the beginning of '94. One of the Convention Commissioners shot himself, another escaped on board the fleet (which was being prepared for an attack on Corsica); it needed all the vigour of Isnard and some 9,000 men (mostly detached from the Army of Italy) to defeat the Insurrection (May 31st). (Von Sybel, iv. 315-6.)]

mount, saying, *Death sans phrase*. A Convention which has effervesced, and which has congealed; which has been red with rage, and also pale with rage; sitting with pistols in its pocket, drawing sword (in a moment of effervescence): now storming to the four winds, through a Danton-voice, Awake, O France, and smite the tyrants; now frozen mute under its Robespierre, and answering his dirge-voice by a dubious gasp. Assassinated, decimated; stabbed at, shot at, in baths, on streets and stair-cases; which has been the nucleus of Chaos. Has it not heard the chimes at midnight? It has deliberated, beset by a Hundred-thousand armed men with artillery-furnaces and provision-carts. It has been betocsined, bestormed; overflowed by black deluges of Sansculottism; and has heard the shrill cry, *Bread and Soap*. For, as we say, it was the nucleus of Chaos: it sat as the centre of Sansculottism; and had spread its pavilion on the waste Deep, where is neither path nor landmark, neither bottom nor shore. In intrinsic valour, ingenuity, fidelity, and general force and manhood, it has perhaps not far surpassed the average of Parliaments; but in frankness of purpose, in singularity of position, it seeks its fellow. One other Sansculottic submersion, or at most two, and this wearied vessel of a Convention reaches land.¹

Revolt of Germinal Twelfth ended as a vain cry; moribund Sansculottism was swept back into invisibility. There it has lain moaning, these six weeks: moaning, and also scheming. Jacobins disarmed, flung forth from their Tribune in mid-air, must needs try to help themselves, in secret conclave under ground. Lo therefore, on the First day of the month *Prairial*, 20th of May 1795, sound of the *générale* once more; beating sharp, ran-tan, To arms, To arms!

Sansculottism has risen, yet again, from its death-lair; waste,

¹[Of the 782 members 17 refused to sit, 35 voluntarily resigned their seats during the sessions, 19 died natural deaths, 9 were killed in battle, 4 were kept in Austrians prisons, 73 died on the scaffold or by murder, 26 were deported or incarcerated for long periods; very rarely had the Convention sat over 350 strong; from June 2nd '93 seldom more than 200 (*see* Guiffrey, cap. iii.).]

wild-flowing, as the unfruitful Sea. Saint-Antoine is afoot:¹ "Bread and the Constitution of Ninety-three," so sounds it; so stands it written with chalk on the hats of men. They have their pikes, their firelocks; Paper of Grievances; standards; printed Proclamation, drawn up in quite official manner,—considering this, and also considering that, they, a much-enduring Sovereign People, are in Insurrection; will have Bread and the Constitution of Ninety-three. And so the Barriers are seized, and the *générale* beats, and tocsins discourse discord. Black deluges overflow the Tuileries; spite of sentries, the Sanctuary itself is invaded: enter, to our Order of the Day, a torrent of dishevelled women, wailing, "Bread! Bread!" President may well cover himself; and have his own tocsin rung in 'the Pavilion of Unity;' the ship of the State again labours and leaks; overwashed, near to swamping, with unfruitful brine.

What a day, once more! Women are driven out: men storm irresistibly in; choke all corridors, thunder at all gates. Deputies, putting forth head, obtest, conjure; Saint-Antoine rages, "Bread and Constitution." Report has risen that the 'Convention is assassinating the women;' crushing and rushing, clangor and furor! The oak doors have become as oak tambourines, sounding under the axe of Saint-Antoine; plaster-work crackles, wood-work booms and jingles; door starts up;—bursts-in Saint-Antoine with frenzy and vociferation; with Rag-standards, printed Proclamation, drum-music: astonishment to eye and ear. Gendarmes, loyal Sectioners charge through the other door; they are recharged; musketry exploding: Saint-Antoine cannot be expelled. Obtesting Deputies obtest vainly: Respect the President; approach not the President! Deputy Féraud,² stretching out his hands, baring his bosom scarred in the Spanish wars, obtests vainly; threatens and resists vainly. Rebellious Deputy of the Sovereign, if thou have fought, have not we too? We have no Bread, no Constitution! They wrench poor Féraud; they tumble him, trample him, wrath waxing to see itself work:

¹[May 20th.]

²[Féraud, *vid. supr.*, ii. 328].

they drag him into the corridor, dead or near it ; sever his head, and fix it on a pike. Ah, did an unexampled Convention want this variety of destiny, too, then ? Féraud's bloody head goes on a pike. Such a game has begun ; Paris and the Earth may wait how it will end.¹

And so it billows free through all Corridors ; within and without, far as the eye reaches, nothing but Bedlam, and the great Deep broken loose ! President Boissy d'Anglas sits like a rock : the rest of the Convention is floated 'to the upper benches ;' Sectioners and Gendarmes still ranking there to form a kind of wall for them. And Insurrection rages ; rolls its drums ; will read its Paper of Grievances, will have this decreed, will have that. Covered sits President Boissy ; unyielding ; like a rock in the beating of seas. They menace him, level muskets at him, he yields not ; they hold up Féraud's bloody head to him, with grave stern air he bows to it, and yields not.

And the Paper of Grievances cannot get itself read for uproar ; and the drums roll, and the throats bawl ; and Insurrection, like sphere-music, is inaudible for very noise : Decree us this, Decree us that. One man we discern bawling 'for the space of an hour at all intervals,' "*Je demande l'arrestation des coquins et des lâches.*" Really one of the most comprehensive Petitions ever put up ;²

¹['The people were in a state of starvation all the month of May—one meets men 'dropping of inanition in the streets. . . . the *rentiers* almost as badly off as 'the *ouvriers* . . . numbers of households live by selling off their furniture . . .'] (Schmidt, ii, 333). The Insurrection of Prairial was also entirely a social one like that of Germinal, but it was carefully prepared ; regular programmes of it were distributed and even sold in the *Faubourg St. Antoine* (*ibid.* 338). Endless additional 'grievances' had been added to the Terrorists since Germinal, *e.g.*, the disarming of all persons who had taken part in the bloodshed of the Terror, (April roth) ; the new organisation of the National Guard putting it once more in the hands of the *bourgeoisie* ; the repeal of the law of 14th Frimaire against the local authorities of districts and Departments ; above, all the law of May 3rd restoring all property confiscated since May 31st '93 to the families of the victims of the Terror. Thuriot and Cambon had escaped from prison, and, with Goujon and Bourbotte, seem to have been the principal organisers of the Insurrection. The Session of the Convention began at 11 A.M. ; it was interrupted from the first by women in the galleries, but the actual arrival of the armed insurgents in the Hall was not till 4 P.M., when Féraud was murdered by a pistol shot in trying to protect the President, Boissy d'Anglas. (Von Sybel, iv, 310 *sqq.*.)

²[This charming story is actually in the *Moniteur* for May 24th (except that it is half an hour, not an hour) : and one man did even better for he shouted a demand for the "arrest of every one" *L'arrestation de tous!* (*ibid.*) referring of course to the members of the Convention.]

which indeed, to this hour, includes all that you can reasonably ask Constitution of the Year One, Rotten-Borough, Ballot-Box, or other miraculous Political Ark of the Covenant to do for you to the end of the world! I also *demand arrestment of the Knaves and Dastards*, and nothing more whatever.—National Representation, deluged with black Sansculottism, glides out; for help elsewhere, for safety elsewhere; here is no help.

About four in the afternoon, there remain hardly more than some Sixty Members: mere friends, or even secret-leaders; a remnant of the Mountain-crest, held in silence by Thermidorian thralldom. Now is the time for them; now or never let them descend, and speak! They descend, these Sixty, invited by Sansculottism: Romme of the New Calendar, Ruhl of the Sacred Phial, Goujon, Duquesnoy, Soubrany, and the rest. Glad Sansculottism forms a ring for them; Romme takes the President's chair; they begin resolving and decreeing. Fast enough now comes Decree after Decree, in alternate brief strains, or strophe and antistrophe,—what will cheapen bread, what will awaken the dormant lion. And at every new decree, Sansculottism shouts "Decreed, decreed!" and rolls its drums.

Fast enough; the work of months in hours,—when see, a Figure enters, whom in the lamp-light we recognise to be Legendre; and utters words: fit to be hissed out! And then see, Section Lepelletier or other Muscadin Section enters, and Gilt Youth, with levelled bayonets, countenances screwed to the sticking-place! Tramp, tramp, with bayonets gleaming in the lamp-light: what can one do, worn down with long riot, grown heartless, dark, hungry, but roll back, but rush back, and escape who can? The very windows need to be thrown up, that Sansculottism may escape fast enough. Money-changer Sections and Gilt Youth sweep them forth, with steel besom, far into the depths of Saint-Antoine. Triumph once more! The Decrees of that Sixty are not so much as rescinded; they are declared null and non-extant. Romme, Ruhl, Goujon and the ringleaders, some thirteen in all, are decreed Accused.

Permanent-session ends at three in the morning.¹ Sansculottism, once more flung resupine, lies sprawling; sprawling *its last*.

Such was the First of Prairial, 20th of May 1795.² Second and Third of Prairial, during which Sansculottism still sprawled, and unexpectedly rang its tocsin, and assembled in arms, availed Sansculottism nothing.³ What though with our Rommes and Ruhls, accused but not yet arrested, we make a new 'True National Convention' of our own, over in the East; and put the others Out of Law? What though we rank in arms and march? Armed Force and Muscadin Sections, some thirty-thousand men, environ that old False Convention: we can but bully one another; bandying nicknames, "*Muscadins*," against "*Blood-drinkers, Buveurs de Sang*." Féraud's Assassin, taken with the red hand, and sentenced, and now near to Guillotine and Place de Grève, is retaken; is carried back into Saint-Antoine:—to no purpose. Convention Sectionaries and Gilt Youth come, according to Decree, to seek him; nay to disarm Saint-Antoine! And they do disarm it: by rolling of cannon, by springing upon enemy's cannon; by military audacity, and terror of the Law. Saint-Antoine surrenders its arms; Santerre even advising it, anxious for life and brewhouse. Féraud's Assassin flings himself from a high roof: and all is lost.⁴

¹ Deux Amis, xiii. 129-46. [Boissy did not leave the chair till 9 P.M., when the *Montagnard* deputies forced Vernier into it; then the 'patriotic' motions were made by Goujon, Romme and Soubrany; by 11 P.M. the respectable Sections of the National Guard had appeared with Legendre, Chénier and other Thermidorians at their head. They quickly cleared the Hall, and Boissy was back in the chair before midnight. Thirteen of the leading *Montagnard* deputies were arrested (Von Sybel, iv. 312.)]

² [Early the next morning news was brought that a 'Convention of the Sovereign People' was assembling at the *Hôtel-de-Ville*, but by midday it had retreated to *Saint-Antoine*. Two attempts were made during the day to force a passage into the *Faubourg*, but the second of these under General Kilmaine was driven back by the mob to the very gates of the Tuileries. The Convention had spent the day in great trepidation, passing conciliatory votes about hastening up corn supplies, and hastening on the New Constitution (it even had the feebleness to repeal its laws opening the *Bourse* and restoring the confiscated property); but meanwhile it was sending expresses everywhere for troops, and 3,000 cavalry of the Army of the North were galloping towards Paris; late at night on 21st a deputation of the Insurgents was received in the Convention and beguiled with fair words. By the next night, 22nd, there were enough troops to force *Saint-Antoine* under a threat of bombardment to yield. There was no bloodshed in the reprisals on *Saint-Antoine*: only the assassin of Féraud was condemned to death (Von Sybel, 313-4.)]

³ [May 21st—22nd.]

⁴ Toulangeon, v. 247; Moniteur, Nos. 244, 5, 6.

Discerning which things, old Ruhl shot a pistol through his old white head ; dashed his life in pieces, as he had done the Sacred Phial of Rheims. Romme, Goujon and the others stand ranked before a swiftly-appointed, swift Military Tribunal. Hearing the sentence, Goujon drew a knife, struck it into his breast, passed it to his neighbour Romme ; and fell dead.¹ Romme did the like ; and another all-but did it ; Roman-death rushing on there, as in electric-chain, before your Bailiffs could intervene ! The Guillotine had the rest.²

They were the *Ultimi Romanorum*. Billaud, Collot and Company are now ordered to be tried for life ; but are found to be already off, shipped for Sinamarri, and the hot mud of Surinam. There let Billaud surround himself with flocks of tame parrots ; Collot take the yellow fever, and drinking a whole bottle of brandy, burn up his entrails.³ Sansculottism sprawls no more. The dormant lion has become a dead one ; and now, as we see, any hoof may smite him.

CHAPTER VI

GRILLED HERRINGS

So dies Sansculottism, the *body* of Sansculottism ; or is changed. Its ragged Pythian Carmagnole-dance has transformed itself into a Pyrrhic, into a dance of Cabarus Balls. Sansculottism is dead ; extinguished by new *isms* of that kind, which were its own natural progeny ; and is buried, we may say, with such deafening jubilation and disharmony of funeral-knell on their part, that only after some half-century or so does one begin to learn clearly why it ever was alive.

And yet a meaning lay in it : Sansculottism verily was alive, a New-Birth of TIME ; nay it still lives, and is not dead but changed.

¹[June 17th.]

²[A special commission tried Ruhl, Romme, Du Roy, Goujon, Forestier, Albitte, Bourbotte, Duquesnoy, Soubrany, Prieur (de la Marne), and Peyssard for abetting the Insurrection. Peyssard and Forestier were acquitted, Albitte and Prieur escaped ; Ruhl committed suicide before the trial ; the rest were condemned to death : even Carnot and Lindet were in danger for some days.]

³ Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, §§ Billaud, Collot.

The *soul* of it still lives ; still works far and wide, through one bodily shape into another less amorphous, as is the way of cunning Time with his New-Births :—till, in some perfected shape, it embrace the whole circuit of the world ! For the wise man may now everywhere discern that he must found on his manhood, not on the garnitures of his manhood. He who, in these Epochs of our Europe, founds on garnitures, formulas, culottisms of what sort soever, is founding on old cloth and sheepskin, and cannot endure. But as for the body of Sansculottism, that is dead and buried,—and, one hopes, need not reappear, in primary amorphous shape, for another thousand years.

It was the frightfullest thing ever born of Time ? One of the frightfullest. This Convention, now grown Antijacobin, did, with an eye to justify and fortify itself, publish Lists of what the Reign of Terror had perpetrated : Lists of Persons Guillotined. The Lists, cries splenetic Abbé Montgaillard, were not complete. They contain the names of, How many persons thinks the Reader ?—Two-thousand all but a few. There were above Four-thousand, cries Montgaillard : so many were guillotined, fusilladed, noyaded, done to dire death ; of whom Nine-hundred were women.¹ It is a horrible sum of human lives, M. l'Abbé :—some ten times as many shot rightly on a field of battle, and one might have had his Glorious-Victory with *Te Deum*. It is not far from the two-hundredth part of what perished in the entire Seven-Years War. By which Seven-Years War, did not the great Fritz wrench Silesia from the great Theresa ; and a Pompadour, stung by epigrams, satisfy herself that she could not be an Agnes Sorel ? The head of man is a strange vacant sounding-shell, M. l'Abbé ; and studies Cocker to small purpose.

But what if History somewhere on this Planet were to hear of a Nation, the third soul of whom had not, for thirty weeks each year, as many third-rate potatoes as would sustain him ?² History, in that case, feels bound to consider that starvation is starvation ; that starvation from age to age presupposes much ;

¹ Montgaillard, iv. 241.

² Report of the Irish Poor-Law Commission, 1836.

History ventures to assert that the French Sansculotte of Ninety-three, who, roused from long death-sleep, could rush at once to the frontiers, and die fighting for an immortal Hope and Faith of Deliverance for him and his, was but the *second*-miserablest of men! The Irish Sans-potato, had he not senses then, nay a soul! In his frozen darkness, it was bitter for him to die famishing; bitter to see his children famish. It was bitter for him to be a beggar, a liar and a knave. Nay, if that dreary Greenland-wind of benighted Want, perennial from sire to son, had frozen him into a kind of torpor and numb callosity, so that he saw not, felt not,—was this, for a creature with a soul in it, some assuagement; or the cruellest wretchedness of all?

Such things were; such things are; and they go on in silence peaceably:—and Sansculottisms follow them. History, looking back over this France through long times, back to Turgot's time for instance, when dumb Drudgery staggered up to its King's Palace, and in wide expanse of sallow faces, squalor and winged raggedness, presented hieroglyphically its Petition of Grievances; and for answer got hanged on a 'new gallows forty feet high,'—confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with, in which the general Twenty-five Millions of France suffered *less* than in this period which they name Reign of Terror!¹ But it was not the Dumb Millions that suffered here; it was the Speaking Thousands, and Hundreds and Units; who shrieked and published, and made the world ring with their wail, as they could and should: that is the grand peculiarity. The frightfullest Births of Time are never the loud-speaking ones, for these soon die; they are the silent ones, which can live from century to century! Anarchy, hateful as Death, is abhorrent to the whole nature of man; and so must itself soon die.

Wherefore let all men know what of depth and of height is still revealed in man; and, with fear and wonder, with just sympathy and just antipathy, with clear eye and open heart,

¹[The presumption that the Twenty-five Millions were better off during the anarchic period than ever before is of course a mere assumption, which all evidence utterly refutes; but it is an assumption which underlies the whole of Carlyle's book.]

contemplate it and appropriate it; and draw innumerable inferences from it. This inference, for example, among the first: That 'if the gods of this lower world will sit on their glittering 'thrones, indolent as Epicurus' gods, with the living Chaos of 'Ignorance and Hunger weltering uncared-for at their feet, and 'smooth Parasites preaching, Peace, peace, when there is no 'peace,' then the dark Chaos, it would seem, will rise;—has risen, and O Heavens! has it not tanned their skins into breeches for itself? That there be no second Sansculottism in our Earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was; and let Rich and Poor of us go and do *otherwise*.—But to our tale.

The Muscadin Sections greatly rejoice; Cabarus Balls gyrate: the well-nigh insoluble problem, *Republic without Anarchy*, have we not solved it?—Law of Fraternity or Death is gone: chimerical *Obtain-who-need* has become practical *Hold-who-have*. To anarchic Republic of the Poverties there has succeeded orderly Republic of the Luxuries; which will continue as long as it can.

On the Pont au Change, on the Place de Grève, in long sheds, Mercier, in these summer evenings, saw working men at their repast. One's allotment of daily bread has sunk to an ounce and a half. 'Plates containing each three grilled herrings, 'sprinkled with shorn onions, wetted with a little vinegar; to 'this add some morsel of boiled prunes, and lentils swimming 'in a clear sauce: at these frugal tables, the cook's gridiron 'hissing near by, and the pot simmering on a fire between two 'stones, I have seen them ranged by the hundred; consuming, 'without bread, their scant messes, far too moderate for the 'keenness of their appetite, and the extent of their stomach.'¹ Seine water, rushing plenteous by, will supply the deficiency.

O Man of Toil, thy struggling and thy daring, these six long years of insurrection and tribulation, thou hast profited nothing by it then? Thou consumest thy herring and water, in the blessed gold-red evening. O why was the Earth so beautiful, becrimsoned with dawn and twilight, if man's dealings with man

¹ Nouveau Paris, iv. 118.

were to make it a vale of scarcity, of tears, not even soft tears? Destroying of Bastilles, discomfiting of Brunswicks, fronting of Principalities and Powers, of Earth and Tophet, all that thou hast dared and endured,—it was for a Republic of the Cabarus Saloons? Patience; thou must have patience: the end is not yet.

CHAPTER VII

THE WHIFF OF GRAPESHOT

IN fact, what can be more natural, one may say inevitable, as a Post-Sansculottic transitional state, than even this? Confused wreck of a Republic of the Poverties, which ended in Reign of Terror, is arranging itself into such composure as it can. Evangel of Jean-Jacques, and most other Evangels, becoming incredible, what is there for it but return to the old Evangel of Mammon? *Contrat-Social* is true or untrue, Brotherhood is Brotherhood or Death; but money always will buy money's worth: in the wreck of human dubitations, this remains indubitable, that Pleasure is pleasant. Aristocracy of Feudal Parchment has passed away with a mighty rushing; and now, by a natural course, we arrive at Aristocracy of the Moneybag. It is the course through which all European Societies are, at this hour, travelling. Apparently a still baser sort of Aristocracy? An infinitely baser; the basest yet known.

In which, however, there is this advantage, that, like Anarchy itself, it cannot continue. Hast thou considered how Thought is stronger than Artillery-parks, and (were it fifty years after death and martyrdom, or were it two thousand years) writes and un-writes Acts of Parliament, removes mountains; models the World like soft clay? Also how the beginning of all Thought, worth the name, is Love; and the wise head never yet was, without first the generous heart? The Heavens cease not their bounty; they send us generous hearts into every generation. And now what generous heart can pretend to itself, or be hoodwinked into believing, that Loyalty to the Moneybag is a

noble Loyalty? Mammon, cries the generous heart out of all ages and countries, is the basest of known Gods, even of known Devils. In him what glory is there, that ye should worship him? No glory discernible; not even terror: at best, detestability, ill-matched with despicability!—Generous hearts, discerning, on this hand, wide-spread Wretchedness, dark without and within, moistening its ounce-and-half of bread with tears; and, on that hand, mere Balls in flesh-coloured drawers, and inane or foul glitter of such sort,—cannot but ejaculate, cannot but announce: Too much, O divine Mammon; somewhat too much!—The voice of these, once announcing itself, carries *fiat* and *pereat* in it, for all things here below.

Meanwhile we will hate Anarchy as Death, which it is; and the things worse than Anarchy shall be hated *more*. Surely Peace alone is fruitful. Anarchy is destruction; a burning up, say, of Shams and Insupportabilities; but which leaves Vacancy behind. Know this also, that out of a world of Unwise nothing but an Unwisdom can be made. Arrange it, constitution-build it, sift it through ballot-boxes as thou wilt, it is and remains an Unwisdom,—the new prey of new quacks and unclean things, the latter end of it slightly better than the beginning. Who can bring a wise thing out of men unwise? Not one. And so Vacancy and general Abolition having come for this France, what can Anarchy do more? Let there be Order, were it under the Soldier's Sword; let there be Peace, that the bounty of the Heavens be not spilt; that what of Wisdom they do send us bring fruit in its season!—It remains to be seen how the quellers of Sansculottism were themselves quelled, and sacred right of Insurrection was blown away by gunpowder; wherewith this singular eventful History called *French Revolution* ends.

The Convention, driven such a course by wild wind, wild tide, and steerage and non-steerage, these three years, has become weary of its own existence, sees all men weary of it; and wishes heartily to finish. To the last, it has to strive with contradictions: it is now getting fast ready with a Constitution, yet knows no

peace. Sieyès, we say, is making the Constitution once more ; has as good as made it.¹ Warned by experience, the great

¹[Sieyès' share in the Constitution of the year III. was in fact far less than in that of 1791 ; yet this seems to be the place to attempt some further summary of his position during the Revolution. While almost every other great figure of the Revolution has its monograph, Sieyès has had none or as good as none devoted to him, for his own ' Notice sur la Vie et les Travaux de Sieyès, Ecrite par lui-même ' (Messidor, l'an II.) is, from its date, necessarily incomplete. Now Sieyès seems to be one of the most important persons, yet his personality escapes one. To him more than to any one else is due the *tabula rasa* made of the past, the contempt for the realities of history, yet to him also many of the Civil Institutions which remain till to-day. To him too came the decision at several critical moments, e.g., his pamphlets of 1788 ; June 17th '89 ; June 23rd '89 ; Jan. 21st '93 (for it is most probable that the Marais would have followed him, had he voted against the King's death) ; to him perhaps a little of this Directorial Constitution, and the decrees of August '95 ; finally to him the acceptance of the *Coup d'État* of Brumaire and most of the Constitution of the year VIII. Yet withal, the man does not seem real ; he is, as M. Aulard wittily says, " an incomplete syllogism : " all men are to him ciphers, ' economic men,' whose passions need not be taken into account ; when for a while they get out of hand and refuse to listen to his oracles, *suâ virtute se involvit*, and feels sure that they will ask his counsel by and by. Napoleon, in whose government he entirely acquiesced, found out his weak point, avarice ; but lauded his probity. He had probably committed enough infamy during the early years of the Revolution, if the reports (consistent but not entirely confirmed) are true that he backed up Brissot and Mme Roland in the summer of '92 (see Von Sybel, i. 378-9), or that he gave much secret counsel to Robespierre during the Red Terror : see Dropmore papers (Hist. MSS. Commission, 14th Report, Appx. Part v. 1894). Cf. also my note *supra*, i. 148.

The Constitutional Committee was formed on April 23rd in consequence of a report of Cambacérés on 18th on the means of carrying out the resolution of March 21st (*vid. supr.*, iii. 236). Three of those elected on it (Sieyès, Cambacérés, and Merlin of Douay) refused to sit ; and the Committee comprised Thibaudeau, Larevellière, Lesage, Boissy d'Anglas, Creuze-La-Touche, Louvet, Daunou, Berlier, Lanjuinais, Durand-Maillane, Baudin : of these some four were really Royalists at heart, and would have liked to put Louis XVII. in the Presidential chair of a nominal Republic ; but the boy's death prevented that, and no serious schemes were propounded till the end of June, when on 23rd Boissy d'Anglas brought forward the first report. The debate on this report lasted three weeks. The main principles may thus be summed up :—

- (i.) Separation of executive and legislative to be complete.
- (ii.) Property qualification for franchise and for all offices.
- (iii.) Simplification of local government by abolishing districts and (except in purely rural localities) cantons ; the Department to be the mainspring, and the *Commune* to be subordinated entirely to that ; much greater centralisation of power than in 1791.
- (iv.) Two chambers each with an age qualification : the Council of Five Hundred one of 30 years, the Council of ' Ancients ' one of 40.
- (v.) Quadrennial Chambers, renewable by halves every two years.
- (vi.) Executive of five elected by the Chambers.

The principal discussions took place on the shape of the Executive power ; the Royalists would all have preferred a President to the five directors ; but Sorel (iv. 375) well points out that the Directory was the natural child of the *Comité de Salut Public* : it was the making of that Committee into a permanent Executive. The great difference however between the Constitution of the Year III. and the previous efforts lies in the careful safeguards provided here for individual rights and opinions and properties ;—as we should say in England, the distinction is drawn for the first time between " Common-law rights " and " Political rights." The best criticism

Architect alters much, admits much. Distinction of Active and Passive Citizen, that is, Money-qualification for Electors: nay Two Chambers, 'Council of Ancients,' as well as 'Council of Five-hundred;' to that conclusion have we come! In a like spirit, eschewing that fatal self-denying ordinance of your Old Constituents, we enact not only that actual Convention Members are re-eligible, but that Two-thirds of them must be re-elected.¹ The Active Citizen Electors shall for this time have free choice of only One-third of their National Assembly. Such enactment, of Two-thirds to be re-elected, we append to our Constitution; we submit our Constitution to the Townships of France, and say, Accept *both*, or reject both. Unsavoury as this appendix may be, the Townships, by overwhelming majority, accept and ratify. With Directory of Five; with Two good Chambers, double-majority of them nominated by ourselves, one hopes this Constitution may prove final. *March* it will; for the legs of it, the re-elected Two-thirds, are already here, able to march. Sieyès looks at his paper-fabric with just pride.²

But now see how the contumacious Sections, Lepelletier foremost, kick against the pricks! Is it not manifest infraction of

of the Constitution is to be found in Duvergier de Hauranne, vol. i. cap. vi. : and the Constitution may be seen at length in Hélie, *Les Constitutions de la France*, vol. i. p. 436. On Aug. 17th the Constitution was read over a second time and pronounced complete; the subsequent discussions were all on the time and method of bringing it into force.]

¹[Aug. 22nd—30th. It was in Baudin's report on Aug. 18th that the proposal was made that two-thirds of the new Chambers should be chosen from the Convention; after a debate of four days, as to whether this choice should be made by lot, or by vote of the Convention, or by a special Commission, or by the Electors, it was decided, on Aug. 22nd, that it should be done by the Electors. This was ratified on Aug. 30th, and these are the two celebrated 'decrees of Fructidor,' against which the insurrection of 13th Vendémiaire took place. It is obvious that such measures were simply dictated in the interest of the lives or property of the Republican majority of the Convention. France was royalist in spite of the *Émigrés*, and free elections would have been followed by some sort of restoration of Monarchy. It is interesting to compare with these decrees the proposal of Sir Henry Vane's committee in the Long Parliament, first mooted in 1650, that new elections should be made to the vacant seats only, but that the sitting members should retain their seats. Cromwell proved in the spring of 1653 more fortunate against this parliamentary tyranny than the insurgents of Vendémiaire against the similar proposal of the Conventions.]

²[On Sept. 23rd the Convention registered the acceptance of the Constitution by 914,000 votes out of 958,000 given in the Primary Assemblies; but the "decrees of the two-thirds" were only accepted by 167,000 out of 263,000, a significant drop in the "government majority." (Sorel, iv. 438.)]

one's Elective Franchise, Rights of Man, and Sovereignty of the People, this appendix of re-electing *your* Two-thirds? Greedy tyrants who would perpetuate yourselves!—For the truth is, victory over Saint-Antoine, and long right of Insurrection, has spoiled these men. Nay spoiled all men. Consider too how each man was free to hope what he liked; and now there is to be no hope, there is to be fruition, fruition of *this*.

In men spoiled by long right of Insurrection, what confused ferments will rise, tongues once begun wagging! Journalists declaim, your Lacretelles, Laharpes; Orators spout. There is Royalism traceable in it, and Jacobinism.¹ On the West Frontier, in deep secrecy, Pichegru, durst he trust his Army, is treating with Condé: in these Sections, there spout wolves in sheep's clothing, masked Emigrants and Royalists.² All men, as we say, had hoped, each that the Election would do something for his own side: and now there is no Election, or only the third of one. Black is united with white against this clause of the Two-thirds; all the Unruly of France, who see their trade thereby near ending.

Section Lepelletier, after Addresses enough, finds that such clause is a manifest infraction; that it, Lepelletier, for one, will

¹[We must carefully distinguish between the moderate Royalism of the central Sections of Paris, a Royalism entirely opposed to all the plans of the *Émigrés*, and to the *non-possumus* attitude of Louis XVIII., and the schemes of Pichegru mentioned in the next note which were to promote an unconditional restoration of the exiled King, which at this time would simply have meant the *Ancien Régime*, and unlimited vengeance. The misfortune of the first kind of Royalism, led by such men as Dupont de Nemours and Morellet outside, and by Boissy d'Anglas inside the Convention, was that they had no King to bring forward: they were therefore willing to accept any form of government freely chosen by the people of France, provided honourable men were in the van of it, and to live in hopes that Louis XVIII. would change his mind, throw over the *Émigrés*, and accept a constitution at no very distant date. But the decrees of Fructidor showed the manifest intention of the Republican majority to prevent this at all costs.]

²Napoleon, *Las Cases* (in *Choix des Rapports*, xvii. 389-411). [Pichegru, cunning and mistrustful, undecided and yet obstinate, allowed himself to be led, from merely sordid motives, by the stupidest of the Royalist agents. It was Fauche-Borel who proposed to him the union of his army with that of Condé for the restoration of Louis XVIII. Pichegru, however, insisted upon an autograph letter from Condé, whose movements were as keenly watched by the Austrians as Pichegru's were by the Republicans of Alsace. The threads of the whole scheme fell into the hands of Würmser, who informed Thugut, who most characteristically betrayed Pichegru to the French Directory, which deprived him of his command. (*Forneron*, ii. 205, *sqq.*)]

simply not conform thereto; and invites all other free Sections to join it, 'in central Committee,' in resistance to oppression.¹ The Sections join it, nearly all; strong with their Forty-thousand fighting men. The Convention therefore may look to itself! Lepelletier, on this 12th day of Vendémiaire, 4th of October 1795, is sitting in open contravention, in its Convent of Filles Saint-Thomas, Rue Vivienne, with guns primed. The Convention has some Five-thousand regular troops at hand; Generals in abundance; and a Fifteen-hundred of miscellaneous persecuted Ultra-Jacobins, whom in this crisis it has hastily got together and armed, under the title *Patriots of Eighty-nine*. Strong in Law, it sends its General Menou to disarm Lepelletier.²

General Menou marches accordingly, with due summons and demonstration; with no result. General Menou, about eight in the evening, finds that he is standing ranked in the Rue Vivienne, emitting vain summonses; with primed guns pointed out of every window at him; and that he cannot disarm Lepelletier. He has to return, with whole skin, but without success; and be thrown into arrest, as 'a traitor.' Whereupon the whole Forty-thousand join this Lepelletier which cannot be vanquished: to what hand shall a quaking Convention now turn? Our poor Convention, after such voyaging, just entering harbour, so to speak, has *struck on the bar*;—and labours there frightfully, with

¹ Deux Amis, xiii. 375-406.

²[The Convention showed the weakness of its position early in August by drawing to Paris detachments from all the armies: preparing in fact to defend its *Coup d'État* by force, as it had been believed that the Court had prepared in July '89: as early as Aug. 28th petitions had been presented to the Convention against the increase of troops. The troops were to be depended upon just so much as they believed the Insurgents to be pure Royalists and in league with the *Émigrés*: they had fought under the Tricolor, and were by this time attached to the name of 'Republic'—but not by any means attached to the Convention: the Insurrection actually began on Oct. 3rd, when the Section Lepelletier summoned a meeting of all the Sections, and, on the morning of 4th, 44 out of the 48 sections were in full revolt against the decrees of Fructidor, disposing in all of some 30,000 National Guards, but without artillery. The Baron de Menou, an officer of the old army, who had sat in States-General for the *Noblesse* of Touraine (and who subsequently served every Government till his death, 1810, even becoming a Mussulman, at the close of the expedition to Egypt), was not a traitor at all; but he shrank from the task of shooting down the respectable citizens of Paris. It was Barras who suggested calling on the dregs of the Terrorists or "Patriots of '89" (the true patriots of '89 were all on the other side), which of course only made the respectable Sections determined to fight to the death.]

breakers roaring round it, Forty-thousand of them, like to wash it, and its Sieyès Cargo and the whole future of France, into the deep! Yet one last time it struggles, ready to perish.

Some call for Barras to be made Commandant; he conquered in Thermidor. Some, what is more to the purpose, bethink them of the Citizen Buonaparte, unemployed Artillery-Officer, who took Toulon. A man of head, a man of action: Barras is named Commandant's-Cloak; this young Artillery-Officer is named Commandant. He was in the Gallery at the moment, and heard it; he withdrew, some half-hour, to consider with himself: after a half-hour of grim compressed considering, to be or not to be, he answers *Yea*.

And now, a man of head being at the centre of it, the whole matter gets vital. Swift, to Camp of Sablons; to secure the Artillery, there are not twenty men guarding it! A swift Adjutant, Murat is the name of him, gallops; gets thither some minutes within time, for Lepelletier was also on march that way: the Cannon are ours. And now beset this post, and beset that; rapid and firm: at Wicket of the Louvre, in Cul-de-sac Dauphin, in Rue Saint-Honoré, from Pont-Neuf all along the north Quays, southward to Pont *ci-devant* Royal,—rank round the Sanctuary of the Tuileries, a ring of steel discipline; let every gunner have his match burning, and all men stand to their arms!¹

Thus there is Permanent-session through the night; and thus at sunrise of the morrow, there is seen sacred Insurrection once again: vessel of State labouring on the bar; and tumultuous sea all round her,² beating *générale*, arming and sounding,—not

¹[The Convention appointed a Commission of five members to concert plans for its defence, of whom Barras was one (night of Oct. 4th—5th); but Barras had already on the night of 3rd sent for Buonaparte to come to see him early on 4th. Napoleon afterwards told a beautifully circumstantial lie on the subject to Mme de Rémusat (*see her Mémoires*, i. 269), attributing his selection to chance (or, as he would have it, 'to his star of destiny') on the early morning of 5th; but there is no foundation for this (*see Fournier*, i. 66). Nor is there any better foundation for the story, repeated by Carlyle from the *Mémorial de Saint-Hélène*, that he hesitated for half an hour before accepting. The story of Murat fetching the cannon is, however, true; the cannon were at Meudon (*Fournier*, i. 67).]

²[Oct. 5th.]

ringing tocsin,¹ for we have left no tocsin but our own in the Pavilion of Unity. It is an imminence of shipwreck, for the whole world to gaze at. Frightfully she labours, that poor ship, within cable-length of port; huge peril for her. However, she has a man at the helm. Insurgent messages, received and not received; messenger admitted blindfolded; counsel and counter-counsel: the poor ship labours!—Vendémiaire 13th, year 4: curious enough, of all days, it is the fourth day of October, eve of the anniversary of that Menad-march, six years ago; by sacred right of Insurrection we are got thus far.

Lepelletier has seized the Church of Saint-Roch; has seized the Pont-Neuf, our piquet there retreating without fire. Stray shots fall from Lepelletier; rattle down on the very Tuileries Staircase.² On the other hand, women advance dishevelled, shrieking, *Peace*; Lepelletier behind them waving its hat in sign that we shall fraternise. Steady! The Artillery-Officer is steady as bronze; can, if need were, be quick as lightning. He sends eight-hundred muskets with ball-cartridges to the Convention itself; honourable Members shall act with these in case of extremity: whereat they look grave enough. Four of the afternoon is struck.³ Lepelletier, making nothing by messengers, by fraternity or hat-waving, bursts out, along the Southern Quai Voltaire, along streets and passages, treble-quick, in huge veritable onslaught! Whereupon, thou bronze Artillery-Officer—? “Fire!” say the bronze lips. And roar and thunder, roar and again roar, continual, volcano-like, goes his great gun, in the Cul-de-sac Dauphin against the Church of Saint-Roch; go his great guns on the Pont-Royal; go all his great guns;—blow to air some two-hundred men, mainly about the Church of Saint-Roch! Lepelletier cannot stand such horse-play; no

¹[The Sectionaries had chosen an incapable General, Danican, to command them, and it had been a fatal mistake on their part not to advance on the night of 4th; when they did advance on the afternoon of 5th it was too late. (Von Sybel, iv. 423-4.)]

²[No one knows who fired the first shots: it is more probable that they came from the Convention side, as the Sectionaries had no need to fire while they could advance unchecked. (Von Sybel, iv. 424.)]

³Moniteur, Séance du 5 Octobre 1795.

Sectioner can stand it; the Forty-thousand yield on all sides, scour towards covert. 'Some hundred or so of them gathered 'about the Théâtre de la République; but,' says he, 'a few 'shells dislodged them. It was all finished at six.'

The Ship is *over* the bar, then; free she bounds shoreward,—amid shouting and vivats! Citoyen Buonaparte is 'named General of the Interior, by acclamation;' quelled Sections have to disarm in such humour as they may: sacred right of Insurrection is gone forever! The Sieyès Constitution can disembark itself, and begin marching. The miraculous Convention Ship has got to land;—and is there, shall we figuratively say, changed, as Epic Ships are wont, into a kind of *Sea Nymph*, never to sail more; to roam the waste Azure, a Miracle in History!

'It is false,' says Napoleon, 'that we fired first with blank 'charge; it had been a waste of life to do that.' Most false: the firing was with sharp and sharpest shot: to all men it was plain that here was no sport; the rabbets and plinths of Saint-Roch Church show splintered by it to this hour.—Singular: in old Broglie's time, six years ago, this Whiff of Grapeshot was promised; but it could not be given then; could not have profited then.¹ Now, however, the time is come for it, and the man; and behold, you have it; and the thing we specifically call *French Revolution* is blown into space by it, and become a thing that was!—²

¹[This again is an assumption which underlies the whole of Carlyle's book, and one which I entirely decline to accept.]

²['*César viendra,*' wrote the great Catherine as far back as 1791. '*Il viendra, gardez-vous d'en douter,*' and in 1794 she wrote, "If France escapes from this" (the Terror) "she will be more vigorous than ever; and as obedient as a lamb, if she "can find some man of genius and courage, a head and shoulders above his contemporaries, above his century. Is he born yet?" (Cath. Corresp. avec Grimm, Jan. '91, Feb. '94, quoted in Sorel, iv. 472.)

And M. Sorel's own great work ends with the words, "The Convention, in its fears of raising up a Cromwell, or paving the way for a Monk, marked out the path for a Cæsar." Veritably Napoleon was "*Ni Monk, ni Cromwell, Cæsar.*"

CHAPTER VIII

FINIS

HOMER'S Epos, it is remarked, is like a Bas-Relief sculpture : it does not conclude, but merely ceases. Such, indeed, is the Epos of Universal History itself. Directorates, Consulates, Emperors, Restorations, Citizen-Kingships succeed this Business in due series, in due genesis one out of the other. Nevertheless the First-parent of all these may be said to have gone to air in the way we see. A Babœuf Insurrection, next year, will die in the birth ; stifled by the Soldiery. A Senate, if tinged with Royalism, can be purged by the Soldiery ; and an Eighteenth of Fructidor transacted by the mere show of bayonets.¹ Nay Soldiers' bayonets can be used *à posteriori* on a Senate, and make it leap out of window,—still bloodless ; and produce an Eighteenth of Brumaire.² Such changes must happen : but they are managed by intrigues, caballings, and then by orderly word of command ; almost like mere changes of Ministry. Not in general by sacred right of Insurrection, but by milder methods growing ever milder, shall the events of French History be henceforth brought to pass.

It is admitted that this Directorate, which owned, at its starting, these three things, an 'old table, a sheet of paper, and an inkbottle,' and no visible money or arrangement whatever,³ did wonders : that France, since the Reign of Terror hushed itself, has been a new France, awakened like a giant out of torpor ; and has gone on, in the Internal Life of it, with continual progress. As for the External form and forms of Life, what can we say, except that out of the Eater there comes Strength ; out of the Unwise there comes *not* Wisdom !—Shams are burnt up ; nay, what as yet is the peculiarity of France, the very Cant of them is burnt up. The new Realities are not yet come : ah no,

¹ Moniteur, du 4 Septembre 1797.

² 9th November 1799 (Choix des Rapports, xvii. 1-96).

³ Bailleul, Examen critique des Considérations de Madame de Staël, ii. 275.

only Phantasms, Paper models, tentative Prefigurements of such ! In France there are now Four Million Landed Properties;¹ that black portent of an Agrarian Law is, as it were, *realised*. What is still stranger, we understand all Frenchmen have 'the right of duel;' the Hackney-coachman with the Peer, if insult be given: such is the law of Public Opinion. Equality at least in death! The Form of Government is by Citizen King, frequently shot at, not yet shot.

On the whole, therefore, has it not been fulfilled what was prophesied, *ex-post facto* indeed, by the Arch-quack Cagliostro, or another? He, as he looked in rapt vision and amazement into these things, thus spake:² 'Ha! What is *this*? Angels, 'Uriel, Anachiel, and ye other Five; Pentagon of Rejuvenescence; Power that destroyedst Original Sin; Earth, Heaven, 'and thou Outer Limbo, which men name Hell! Does the 'EMPIRE OF IMPOSTURE waver! Burst there, in starry sheen 'updarting, Light-rays from out of *its* dark foundations; as it 'rocks and heaves, not in travail-throes but in death-throes? 'Yea, Light-rays, piercing, clear, that salute the Heavens,—lo, 'they *kindle* it; their starry clearness becomes as red Hellfire!

'IMPOSTURE is in flames, Imposture is burnt up: one red sea 'of Fire, wild-bellowing, enwraps the World; with its fire-tongue 'licks at the very Stars. Thrones are hurled into it, and Dubois 'Mitres, and Prebendal Stalls that drop fatness, and—ha! what 'see I?—all the *Gigs* of Creation: all, all! Wo is me! Never 'since Pharaoh's Chariots, in the Red Sea of water, was there 'wreck of Wheel-vehicles like this in the Sea of Fire. Desolate, 'as ashes, as gases, shall they wander in the wind.

'Higher, higher yet flames the Fire-Sea; crackling with new 'dislocated timber; hissing with leather and prunella. The 'metal Images are molten; the marble Images become mortar-lime; the stone Mountains sulkily explode. RESPECTABILITY, 'with all her collected Gigs inflamed for funeral pyre, wailing,

¹[As we have seen, there were about the same number before the Revolution.]

²Diamond Necklace (Carlyle's Miscellanies).

'leaves the Earth : not to return save under new Avatar. Im-
'posture how it burns, through generations : how it is burnt up ;
'for a time. The World is black ashes ;—which, ah, when will
'they grow green ? The Images all run into amorphous Corinthian
'brass ; all Dwellings of men destroyed ; the very mountains
'peeled and riven, the valleys black and dead : it is an empty
'World ! Wo to them that shall be born then !— A King, a
'Queen (ah me !) were hurled in ; did rustle once ; flew aloft,
'crackling, like paper-scroll. Iscariot Égalité was hurled in ;
'thou grim de Launay, with thy grim Bastille ; whole kindreds
'and peoples ; five millions of mutually destroying Men. For it
'is the End of the dominion of IMPOSTURE (which is Darkness and
'opaque Firedamp) ; and the burning up, with unquenchable fire,
'of all the Gigs that are in the Earth.' This Prophecy, we say,
has it not been fulfilled, is it not fulfilling ?

And so here, O Reader, has the time come for us two to part.
Toilsome was our journeying together ; not without offence ; but
it is done. To me thou wert as a beloved shade, the disembodied
or not yet embodied spirit of a Brother. To thee I was but as a
Voice. Yet was our relation a kind of sacred one ; doubt not
that ! For whatsoever once sacred things become hollow jargons,
yet while the Voice of Man speaks with Man, hast thou not there
the living fountain out of which all sacrednesses sprang, and will
yet spring ? Man, by the nature of him, is definable as 'an
incarnated Word.' Ill stands it with me if I have spoken falsely :
thine also it was to hear truly. Farewell.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY
OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

[DRAWN UP BY "PHILO," FOR EDITION 1857]

PART I: THE BASTILLE

(*May 10th, 1774—October 5th, 1789*)

1774

LOUIS XV. dies, at Versailles, *May 10th, 1774*; of small-pox, after a short illness: Great-grandson of Louis XIV.; age then 64; in the 59th year of his nominal 'reign.' Retrospect to 1774: sad decay of 'Realised Ideals,' secular and sacred. Scenes about Louis XV.'s death-bed. Scene of the Noblesse entering, 'with a noise like thunder,' to do homage to the New King and Queen. New King, Louis XVI., was his Predecessor's Grandson; age then near 20,—born *August 23d, 1754*. New Queen was Marie Antoinette, Daughter (8th daughter, 12th child) of the great Empress Maria-Theresa and her Emperor Francis (originally 'Duke of Lorraine,' but with no territory there); her age at this time was under 19 (born *November 2d, 1775*). Louis and she were wedded four years ago (*May 16th, 1770*); but had as yet no children;—none till 1778, when their first was born; a Daughter known long afterwards as Duchess d'Angoulême. Two Sons followed, who were successively called "Dauphin;" but died both, the second in very miserable circumstances, while still in boyhood. Their fourth and last child, a Daughter (1786), lived only 11 months. These two were now King and Queen, piously reckoning themselves "too young to reign."

December 18th, 1773, Tea, a celebrated cargo of it, had been flung out in the harbour of Boston, Massachusetts: *June 7th, 1775*, Battle of Bunker's Hill, first of the American War, is fought in the same neighbourhood,—far over seas.

1774—1783

Change of Administration. Maurepas, a man now 73 years old and of great levity, is appointed Prime-Minister; Vergennes favourably known for his correct habits, for his embassies in Turkey, in Sweden, gets the Department of Foreign Affairs. Old Parlement is reinstated; "Parlement Maupeou," which had been invented for getting edicts, particularly tax-edicts, 'registered,' and made available in law, is dismissed. Turgot, made Controller-General of Finances ("Chancellor of the Exchequer" and something more), *August 24th, 1774*, gives rise to high hopes, being already known as a man of much intelligence speculative and practical, of noble patriotic intentions, and of a probity beyond question.

There are many changes; but one steady fact, of supreme significance, continued Deficit of Revenue,—that is the only History of the Period. Noblesse and Clergy are exempt from direct imposts; no tax that can be devised, on such principle, will yield due ways and means. Meanings of that fact; little surmised by the then populations of France. Turgot, aiming at juster principles, cannot: 'Corn-trade' (domestic) 'made free,' and many improvements and high intentions;—much discontent at Court in consequence; famine-riots withal, and 'gallows forty feet high.' Turgot will tax Noblesse and Clergy like the other ranks; tempest of astonishment and indignation in consequence: Turgot dismissed, *May 1776*. Flat snuff-boxes come out, this summer, under the name of *Turgotines*, as being "plattitudes" (in the notion of a fashionable snuffing public), like the plans of this Controller. Necker, a Genevese become rich by Banking in Paris, and well seen by the Philosophe party, is appointed Controller in his stead (1776);—and there is continued Deficit of Revenue.

For the rest, Benevolence, Tolerance, Doctrine of universal Love and Charity to good and bad. Scepticism, Philosophism, Sensualism: portentous 'Electuary,' of sweet taste, into which 'Good and Evil,' the distinctions of them lost, have been mashed up. Jean-Jacques, *Contrat-Social*: universal Millennium, of Liberty, Brotherhood, and whatever is desirable, expected to be rapidly approaching on those

terms. Balloons, Horse-races, Anglomania. Continued Deficit of Revenue. Necker's plans for 'filling up the Deficit' are not approved of, and are only partially gone into: Frugality is of slow operation; curtailment of expenses occasions numerous dismissals, numerous discontents at Court: from Noblesse and Clergy, if their privilege of exemption be touched, what is to be hoped?

American-English War (since *April 1775*); Franklin, and Agents of the Revolted Colonies, at Paris (1776 and afterwards), where their Cause is in high favour. Treaty with Revolted Colonies, *February 6th, 1778*; extensive Official smugglings of supplies to them (in which Beaumarchais is much concerned) for some time before. Departure of French "volunteer" Auxiliaries, under Lafayette, 1778. "Volunteers" these, not sanctioned, only countenanced and furthered, the public clamour being strong that way. War from England, in consequence; Rochambeau to America, with public Auxiliaries, in 1780:—War not notable, except by the Siege of Gibraltar, and by the general result arrived at shortly after.

Continued Deficit of Revenue: Necker's ulterior plans still less approved of; by Noblesse and Clergy, least of all. *January 1781*, he publishes a *Compte Rendu* ('Account Rendered,' of himself and them), 'Two hundred thousand copies of it sold;'—and is dismissed in the *May* following. Returns to Switzerland; and there writes New Books, on the same interesting subject or pair of subjects. Maurepas dies, *November 21st, 1781*: the essential "Prime-Minister" is henceforth the Controller-General, if any such could be found; there being an ever-increasing Deficit of Revenue,—a Millennium thought to be just coming on, and evidently no money in its pocket.

Siege of Gibraltar (*September 13th, to middle of November 1782*): Siege futile on the part of France and Spain; hopeless since that day (*Sept. 13th*) of the red-hot balls. General result arrived at is important: American Independence recognised (*Peace of Versailles, January 20th, 1783*). Lafayette returns in illustrious condition; named *Scipio Americanus* by some able-editors of the time.

1783—1787

Ever-increasing Deficit of Revenue. Worse, not better, since Necker's dismissal. After one or two transient Controllers, who can do nothing, Calonne, a memorable one, is nominated, *November 1783*. Who continues, with lavish expenditure raised by loans, contenting all

the world by his liberality, 'quenching fire by oil thrown on it;' for three years and more. "All the world was holding out its hand, I held out my hat." Ominous scandalous Affair called of the *Diamond Necklace* (Cardinal de Rohan, Dame de la Motte, Arch-Quack Cagliostro the principal actors), tragically compromising the Queen's name who had no vestige of concern with it, becomes public as Criminal-Trial, 1785; penal sentence on the above active parties and others, *May 31st*, 1786; with immense rumour and conjecture from all mankind. Calonne, his borrowing resources being out, convokes the Notables (First Convocation of the Notables) *February 22d*, 1787, to sanction his new Plans of Taxing; who will not hear of him or them: so that he is dismissed, and 'exiled,' *April 8th*, 1787. First Convocation of Notables,—who treat not of this thing only, but of all manner of public things, and mention States-General among others,—sat from *February 22d* to *May 25th*, 1787.

1787

Cardinal Loménie de Brienne, who had long been ambitious of the post, succeeds Calonne. A man now of sixty; dissolute, worthless;—devises Tax-Edicts, Stamp-tax (*Édit du Timbre*, *July 6th*, 1787) and others, with 'successive loans,' and the like; which the Parlement, greatly to the joy of the Public, will not register. Ominous condition of the Public, all virtually in opposition; Parlements, at Paris and elsewhere, have a cheap method of becoming glorious. Contests of Loménie and Parlement. Beds-of-Justice (first of them, *August 6th*, 1787); *Lettres-de-Cachet*, and the like methods: general 'Exile' of Parlement (*Aug. 15th*, 1787), who return upon conditions, *September 20th*. Increasing ferment of the Public. Loménie helps himself by temporary shifts till he can, privately, get ready for wrestling down the rebellious Parlement.

1788 *January—September*

Spring of 1788, grand scheme of dismissing the Parlement altogether, and nominating instead a "Plenary Court (*Cour Plénière*)," which shall be obedient in 'registering' and in other points. Scheme detected before quite ripe: Parlement in permanent session thereupon; haranguing all night (*May 3d*); applausive idle crowds inundating the Outer Courts: D'Espréménil and Goeslard de Monsabert seized by military in the gray of the morning (*May 4th*), and whirled off to

distant places of imprisonment: Parlement itself dismissed to exile. Attempt to govern (that is, to raise supplies) by Royal Edict simply,—“Plenary Court” having expired in the birth. Rebellion of all the Provincial Parlements; idle Public more and more noisily approving and applauding. Destructive hailstorm, *July 13th*, which was remembered next year. Royal Edict (*August 8th*), That States-General, often vaguely promised before, shall actually assemble in May next. Proclamation (*Aug. 16th*), That ‘Treasury Payments be henceforth three-fifths in cash, two-fifths in paper,’—in other words, that the Treasury is fallen insolvent. Loménie thereupon immediately dismissed: with immense explosion of popular rejoicing, more riotous than usual. Necker, favourite of all the world, is immediately (*Aug. 24th*) recalled from Switzerland to succeed him, and be “Saviour of France.”

1788 *November, December*

Second Convocation of the Notables (*November 6th—December 12th*), by Necker, for the purpose of settling *how*, in various essential particulars, the States-General shall be held. For instance, Are the Three Estates to meet as one Deliberative Body? Or as Three, or Two? Above all, what is to be the relative force, in deciding, of the Third Estate or Commonalty? Notables, as other less formal Assemblages had done and do, depart without settling any of the points in question; most points remain unsettled,—especially that of the Third Estate and its relative force. Elections begin everywhere, *January* next. Troubles of France seem now to be about becoming Revolution in France. Commencement of the “French Revolution,”—henceforth a phenomenon absorbing all others for mankind,—is commonly dated here.

1789 *May, June*

Assembling of States-General at Versailles; Procession to the Church of St. Louis there, *May 4th*. Third Estate has the Nation behind it; wishes to be a main element in the business. Hopes, and (led by Mirabeau and other able heads) decides, that it must be the main element of all,—and will continue ‘inert,’ and do nothing, till that come about: namely, till the other Two Estates, Noblesse and Clergy, be joined with it; in which conjunct state it can outvote them, and may become what it wishes. ‘Inertia,’ or the scheme of doing only harangues and adroit formalities, is adopted by it; adroitly persevered in, for seven weeks: much to the hope of France; to the alarm of Necker and the Court.

Court decides to intervene. Hall of Assembly is found shut (*Saturday, June 20th*); Third-Estate Deputies take Oath, celebrated "Oath of the Tennis-Court," in that emergency. Emotion of French mankind. *Monday, June 22d*, Court does intervene, but with reverse effect: *Séance Royale*, Royal Speech, giving open intimation of much significance, "If you, Three Estates, cannot agree, I the King will myself achieve the happiness of my People." Noblesse and Clergy leave the Hall along with King; Third Estate remains pondering this intimation. Enter Supreme-Usher de Brézé, to command departure; Mirabeau's fulminant words to him: exit de Brézé, fruitless and worse, 'amid seas of angry people.' All France on the edge of blazing out: Court recoils; Third Estate, other Two now joining it on order, triumphs, successful in every particular. The States-General are henceforth "National Assembly;" called in Books distinctively "Constituent Assembly;" that is, Assembly met "to make the Constitution,"—perfect Constitution, under which the French People might realise their Millennium.

1789 *June, July*

Great hope, great excitement, great suspicion. Court terrors and plans: old Maréchal Broglio,—this is the Broglio who was young in the Seven-Years War; son of a Marshal Broglio, and grandson of another, who much filled the Newspapers in their time. *Gardes Françaises* at Paris need to be confined to their quarters; and cannot (*June 26th*). *Sunday, July 12th*, news that Necker is dismissed, and gone homewards overnight: panic terror of Paris, kindling into hot frenzy;—ends in besieging the Bastille; and in taking it, chiefly by infinite noise, the *Gardes Françaises* at length mutely assisting in the rear. Bastille falls, 'like the City of Jericho, by sound,' *Tuesday, July 14th*, 1789. Kind of 'fire-baptism' to the Revolution; which continues insuppressible thenceforth, and beyond hope of suppression. All France, 'as National Guards, to suppress Brigands and enemies to the making of the Constitution,' takes arms.

1789 *August—October*

Scipio Americanus, Mayor Bailly and 'Patrollotism versus Patriotism' (*August, September*). Hope, terror, suspicion, excitement, rising ever more, towards the transcendental pitch; continued scarcity of grain. Progress towards *Fifth of October*, called here 'Insurrection of Women.' Régiment de Flandre has come to Versailles (*Sept. 23d*); Officers have

had a dinner (*Oct. 3d*), with much demonstration and gesticulative foolery, of an anti-constitutional and monarchic character. Paris, semi-delirious, hears of it (*Sunday, Oct. 4th*), with endless emotion;—next day, some ‘10,000 women’ (men being under awe of ‘Patrollotism’) march upon Versailles; followed by endless miscellaneous multitudes, and finally by Lafayette and National Guards. Phenomena and procedure there. Result is, they bring the Royal Family and National Assembly home with them to Paris; Paris thereafter Centre of the Revolution, and *October Five* a memorable day.

1789 *October—December*

‘First Emigration,’ of certain higher Noblesse and Princes of the Blood; which more or less continues through the ensuing years, and at length on an altogether profuse scale. Much legal enquiring and procedure as to Philippe d’Orléans and his (imaginary) concern in this *Fifth of October*; who retires to England for a while, and is ill seen by the polite classes there.

PART II : THE CONSTITUTION

(January 1790—August 12th, 1792)

1790

Constitution-building, and its difficulties and accompaniments. Clubs, Journalisms; advent of anarchic souls from every quarter of the world. *February 4th*, King's visit to Constituent Assembly; emotion thereupon and National Oath, which flies over France. Progress of swearing it, detailed. General "Federation," or mutual Oath of all Frenchmen, otherwise called 'Feast of Pikes' (*July 14th*, Anniversary of Bastille-day), which also is a memorable Day. Its effects on the Military, in Lieutenant Napoleon Buonaparte's experience.

General disorganisation of the Army, and attempts to mend it. Affair of Nanci (catastrophe is *August 31st*); called "Massacre of Nanci:" irritation thereupon. Mutineer Swiss sent to the Gallies; solemn Funeral-service for the Slain at Nanci (*September 20th*), and riotous menaces and mobs in consequence. Steady progress of disorganisation, of anarchy spiritual and practical. Mirabeau, desperate of Constitution-building under such accompaniments, has interviews with the Queen, and contemplates great things.

1791 *April—July*

Death of Mirabeau (*April 2d*): last chance of guiding or controlling this Revolution gone thereby. Royal Family, still hopeful to control it, means to get away from Paris as the first step. Suspected of such intention; visit to St. Cloud violently prevented by the Populace (*April 19th*). Actual Flight to Varennes (*June 20th*); and misventures there: return captive to Paris, in a frightfully worsened position, the fifth evening after (*June 25th*). "Republic" mentioned in Placards, during King's Flight; generally reprobated. Queen and Barnave. A Throne held up; as if 'set on its vertex,' to be held there by hand.

Should not this runaway King be deposed? Immense assemblage, petitioning at Altar of Fatherland to that effect (*Sunday, July 17th*), is dispersed by musketry, from Lafayette and Mayor Bailly, with extensive shrieks following, and leaving remembrances of a very bitter kind.

1791 *August*

Foreign Governments, who had long looked with disapproval on the French Revolution, now set about preparing for actual interference. Convention of Pilnitz (*August 25th-27th*): Emperor Leopold II., Friedrich Wilhelm II. King of Prussia, with certain less important Potentates, and Emigrant Princes of the Blood, assembling at this Pilnitz (Electoral Country—House near Dresden), express their sorrow and concern at the impossible posture of his now French Majesty, which they think calls upon regular Governments to interfere and mend it: they themselves, prepared at present to “resist French aggression” on their own territories, will cooperate with said Governments in “interfering by effectual methods.” This Document, of date *Aug. 27th*, 1791, rouses violent indignations in France; which blaze up higher and higher, and are not quenched for twenty-five years after. Constitution finished; accepted by the King (*September 14th*). Constituent Assembly proclaims ‘in a sonorous voice’ (*Sept. 30th*), that its Sessions are all ended;—and goes its ways amid ‘illuminations.’

1791 *October—December*

Legislative Assembly, elected according to the Constitution, the first and also the last Assembly of that character, meets *October 1st*, 1791: sat till *September 21st*, 1792; a Twelvemonth all but nine days. More republican than its predecessor; inferior in talent; destitute, like it, of parliamentary experience. Its debates, futilities, staggering parliamentary procedure (Book V. cc. 1-3). Court ‘pretending to be dead,’—not ‘aiding the Constitution to march.’ *Sunday, October 16th*, L’Escuyer, at Avignon, murdered in a Church; Massacres in the Ice-Tower follow. Suspicions of their King, and of each other; anxieties about foreign attack, and whether they are in a right condition to meet it; painful questionings of Ministers, continual changes of Ministry,—occupy France and its Legislative with sad debates, growing ever more desperate and stormy in the coming months. Narbonne (Madame de

Staël's friend) made War-Minister, *December 7th*; continues for nearly half a year; then Servan, who lasts three months; then Dumouriez, who, in that capacity, lasts only five days (had, with Roland as Home-Minister, been otherwise in place for a year or more); mere 'Ghosts of Ministries.'

1792 *February—April*

Terror of rural France (*February-March*); Camp of Jalès; copious Emigration. *Feb. 7th*, Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia, mending their Pilnitz offer, make public Treaty, That they specially will endeavour to keep down disturbance, and if attacked will assist one another. Sardinia, Naples, Spain, and even Russia and the Pope, understood to be in the rear of these two. *April 20th*, French Assembly, after violent debates, decrees War against Emperor Leopold. This is the first Declaration of War; which the others followed, *pro* and *contrà*, all round, like pieces of a great Firework blazing out now here now there. The Prussian Declaration, which followed first, some months after, is the immediately important one.

1792 *June*

In presence of these alarming phenomena, Government cannot act; will not, say the People. Clubs, Journalists, Sections (organised population of Paris) growing ever more violent and desperate. Issue forth (*June 20th*) in vast Procession, the combined Sections and leaders, with banners, with demonstrations; marching through the streets of Paris, "To quicken the Executive," and give it a fillip as to the time of day. Called 'Procession of the Black Breeches' in this Book. Immense Procession, peaceable but dangerous; finds the Tuileries gates closed, and no access to his Majesty; squeezes, crushes, and is squeezed, crushed against the Tuileries gates and doors till they give way; and the admission to his Majesty, and the dialogue with him, and behaviour in his House, are of an utterly chaotic kind, dangerous and scandalous, though not otherwise than peaceable. Giving rise to much angry commentary in France and over Europe. *June twenty* henceforth a memorable Day. General Lafayette suddenly appears in the Assembly; without leave, as is splenetically observed: makes fruitless attempt to reinstate authority in Paris (*June 28th*); withdraws as an extinct popularity.

1792 July

July 6th, Reconciliatory Scene in the Assembly, derisively called *Baiser L'Amourette*. 'Third Federation,' July 14th, being at hand,—could not the assembling 'Federates' be united into some Nucleus of Force near Paris? Court answers, No; not without reason of its own. Barbaroux writes to Marseilles for "500 men that know how to die;" who accordingly get under way, though like to be too late for the Federation. Sunday, July 22d, Solemn Proclamation that the "Country is in Danger."

July 24th, Prussian Declaration of War; and Duke of Brunswick's celebrated Manifesto, threatening France 'with military execution' if Royalty were meddled with: the latter bears date, *Coblentz, July 27th, 1792*, in the name of both Emperor and King of Prussia. Duke of Brunswick commands in chief: Nephew (sister's son) of Frederick the Great; and Father of our unlucky 'Queen Caroline:' had served, very young in the Seven-Years War, under his Father's Brother, Prince Ferdinand; often in command of detachments bigger or smaller; and had gained distinction by his swift marches, audacity and battle-spirit: never hitherto commanded any wide system of operations; nor ever again till 1806, when he suddenly encountered ruin and death at the very starting (Battle of Jena, *October 14th* of that year). This proclamation, which awoke endless indignation in France and much criticism in the world elsewhere, is understood to have been prepared by other hands (French-Emigrant chiefly, who were along with him in force), and to have been signed by the Duke much against his will. '*Insigne vengeance*,' 'military execution,' and other terms of overbearing menace: Prussian Army, and Austrians from Netherlands, are advancing in that humour. Marseillaise, 'who know how to die,' arrive in Paris (*July 29th*); dinner-scene in the *Champs Élysées*.

1792 August

Indignation waxing desperate at Paris: France, boiling with ability and will, tied up from defending itself by "an inactive Government" (fatally unable to act). Secret conclaves, consultations of Municipality and Clubs; Danton understood to be the presiding genius there. Legislative Assembly is itself plotting and participant; no other course for it. *August 10th*, Universal Insurrection of the Armed Population of Paris; Tuileries forced, Swiss Guards cut to pieces. King, when

once violence was imminent, and before any act of violence, had with Queen and Dauphin sought shelter in the Legislative-Assembly Hall. They continue there till *Aug. 13th (Friday-Monday)*, listening to the debates, in a reporter's box. Are conducted thence to the Temple "as Hostages,"—do not get out again except to die. Legislative Assembly has its Decree ready, That in terms of the Constitution in such alarming crisis a *National Convention* (Parliament with absolute powers) shall be elected; Decree issued that same day, *Aug. 10th, 1792*. After which the Legislative only waits in existence till it be fulfilled.

PART III : THE GUILLOTINE

*(August 10th, 1792—October 4th, 1795)*1792 *August—September*

Legislative continues its sittings till Election be completed. Enemy advancing, with armed Emigrants, enter France, Luxembourg region ; take Longwy, almost without resistance (*August 23d*) ; prepare to take Verdun. Austrians besieging Thionville ; cannot take it. Dumouriez seizes the Passes of Argonne, *Aug. 29th*. Great agitation in Paris. *Sunday, September 2d* and onwards till *Thursday 6th*, September Massacres : described, Book I. cc. 4-6. Prussians have taken Verdun, *Sept. 2d (Sunday)*, while the Massacres are beginning) : except on the score of provisions and of weather, little or no hindrance. Dumouriez waiting in the passes of Argonne. Prussians detained three weeks forcing these. Famine, and torrents of rain. Battle or Cannonade of Valmy (*Sept. 20th*) : French do not fly, as expected. Convention meets, *Sept. 22d*, 1792 ; Legislative had sat till the day before, and now gives place to it : Republic decreed, same day. Austrians, renouncing Thionville, besiege Lille (*Sept. 28th—October 8th*) ; cannot : ‘fashionable shaving-dish,’ the splinter of a Lille bombshell. Prussians, drenched deep in mud, in dysentery and famine, are obliged to retreat : Goethe’s account of it. Total failure of that Brunswick Enterprise.

1792 *December—1793 January*

Revolutionary activities in Paris and over France ; King shall be brought to “trial.” Trial of the King (*Tuesday, December 11th—Sunday 16th*). Three Votes (*January 15th-17th*, 1793) : Sentence, Death without respite. Executed, *Monday, Jan. 21st*, 1793, morning about 10 o’clock. English Ambassador quits Paris ; French Ambassador ordered to quit England (*Jan. 24th*). War between the two countries imminent.

1793 *February*

Dumouriez, in rear of the retreating Austrians, has seized the whole Austrian Netherlands, in a month or less (*November 4th—2d December last*); and now holds that territory. *February 1st*, France declares War against England and Holland; England declares in return, *Feb. 11th*: Dumouriez immediately invades Holland; English, under Duke of York, go to the rescue: rather successful at first. Committee of *Salut Public* (instituted *January 21st*, day of the King's Execution) the supreme Administrative Body at Paris.

1793 *March—July*

Mutual quarrel of Parties once the King was struck down: Girondins or Limited "legal" Republicans *versus* Mountain or Unlimited: their strifes detailed, Book III. cc. 3, 7-9. War to Spain, *March 7th*. Three Epochs in the wrestle of Girondins and Mountain: first, *March 10th*, when the Girondins fancy they are to be 'Septembered' by the anarchic population: anarchic population does demand "Arrestment of Twenty-two," by name, in return. Revolutionary Tribunal instituted, Danton's contrivance, that same day (*March 10th*). Battle of Neerwinden in Holland (*March 18th*); Dumouriez, quite beaten, obliged to withdraw homewards faster and faster. Second Girondin Epoch, *April 1st*, when they broke with Danton. General Dumouriez, a kind of Girondin in his way, goes over to the Enemy (*April 3d*). Famine, or scarcity in all kinds: *Law of Maximum* (fixing a price on commodities), *May 20th*. Third Girondin Epoch, '*illa suprema dies*,' Convention begirt by Armed Sections under Henriot (*Sunday, June 2d*); Girondins, the Twenty-two and some more, put "under arrest in their own houses;"—never got out again, but the reverse, as it proved.

1793 *July*

Revolt of the Departments in consequence, who are of Girondin temper; their attempt at civil war. Comes to nothing; ends in 'a mutual shriek' (at Vernon in Normandy, *July 15th*): Charlotte Corday has assassinated Marat at Paris two days before (*Saturday, July 13th*). Great Republican vengeance in consequence: Girondin Deputies, Barbaroux, Petion, Louvet, Guadet, &c., wander ruined, disguised over France; the Twenty-two, Brissot, Vergniaud, &c., now imprisoned,

await trial; Lyons and other Girondin cities to be signally punished. Valenciennes, besieged by Duke of York, since May, surrenders, *July 26th*.

1793 *August—October*

Mountain, victorious, resting on the 'Forty-four thousand Jacobin Clubs and Municipalities;' its severe summary procedure rapidly developing itself into a "Reign of Terror." Law of the *Forty Sous* (Sectioners to be paid for attending meetings), Danton's Contrivance, *August 5th*. Austrians force the Lines of Weissembourg, penetrate into France on the East side: Dunkirk besieged by Duke of York (*Aug. 22d*): Lyons bombarded by Dubois-Crancé of the Mountain, Powder-Magazine explodes; Barère's Proclamation of Levy in Mass, "France risen against Tyrants" (*Aug. 23d*). 'Revolutionary Army' (anarchic Police-force of the Mountain), *September 5th-11th*. Law of the Suspect, *Sept. 17th*. Lyons, after frightful sufferings, surrenders to Dubois-Crancé (*October 9th*): "To be rased from the Earth." Same day Gorsas at Paris, a Girondin Deputy, captured in a state of outlawry, is 'immediately guillotined' (*Oct. 9th*): first Deputy who died in that manner. Execution of the Queen Marie-Antoinette, *Wednesday, Oct. 16th*. Execution of the Twenty-two, after trial of some length, 'Marseillaise sung in chorus' at the scaffold (*Oct. 31st*).—General Jourdan has driven Cobourg and the Austrians over the Sambre again, *Oct. 16th* (day of the Queen's death); Duke of York repulsed from Dunkirk, 'like to be swallowed by the tide,' a month before.

1793 *November—December*

Reign of Terror, and Terror the Order of the Day. Execution of d'Orléans Égalité, *November 6th*; of Madame Roland, *Nov. 8th*; of Mayor Bailly, *Nov. 10th*. Goddess of Reason (first of them, at Paris) sails into the Convention, same day (*Nov. 10th*): Plunder of Churches; 'Carmagnole complete.' Convention "Representatives on Mission:" Saint-Just and Lebon, at Strasburg, "Strip off your shoes; 10,000 pairs wanted; likewise 1000 beds,—under way in 24 hours" (*Nov. 27th*). Spanish War, neglected hitherto, and not successful; may become important? Toulon, dangerously Girondin in dangerous vicinity, Hood and the English and even "Louis XVII." there; is besieged, Napoleon serving in the Artillery; is captured, *December 19th*: "To be rased from the Earth." Carrier at Nantes: *Noyadings* by night, second of them *Dec. 14th*; become "Marriages of the Loire," and other horrors.

Lebon at Arras. Maignet at Orange. 'Death poured out in great floods (*vomie à grands flots*).' Lines of Weissembourg 'retaken by Saint-Just charging with Peasants' (*ends the Year*).

1794

'Revolution eating its own children:' the Hébertists guillotined, Anacharsis Clootz among them, *March 24th*; Danton himself and the Dantonists (*April 3d*), which is the acme of the process. Armies successful: Pichegru in the Netherlands; defeat of Austrians, at Moneron, *April 29th*; of Austrian Emperor at Turcoing, *May 18th*: successes of Dugommier against Spain (*May 23d*), which continue in brilliant series, till the business ends, and he ends 'killed by a cannon-shot,' six months hence. *June 1st*, Howe's Sea-victory; and Fable of the *Vengeur*, General Jourdan: Battle of Fleurus, sore stroke against the Austrian Netherlands (*June 26th*).

Conspiracy of Mountain against Robespierre: Tallien and others desirous not to be 'eaten.' Last scenes of Robespierre: *July 28th* (10 *Thermidor*, Year 2), guillotined with his Consorts;—which, unexpectedly, ends the Reign of Terror. Victorious French Armies: enter Cologne, *October 6th*; masters of Spanish bulwarks (Dugommier shot), *Oct. 17th*: Duke of York and Dutch Stadtholder in a ruinous condition. Reaction against Robespierre: 'whole Nation a Committee of Mercy.' Jacobins Club assaulted by mob; shut up, *November 10th-12th*. Law of Maximum abolished, *December 24th*. Duke of York gone home; Pichegru and 70,000 overrun Holland; frost so hard, 'hussars can take ships.'

1795

Stadtholder quits Holland, *January 19th*; glad to get across to England: Spanish Cities 'opening to the petard' (Rosas first, *Jan. 5th*, and rapidly thereafter, till almost Madrid come in view). Continued downfall of Sansculottism. Effervescence of luxury; La Cabarrus; Greek Costumes; *Jeunesse Dorée*; balls in flesh-coloured drawers. Sansculottism rises twice in Insurrection; both times in vain. Insurrection of Germinal ('12 Germinal,' Year 3, *April 1st*, 1795); ends by 'two blank cannon-shot' from Pichegru.

1795 *April—October*

Prussia makes peace of Bâle (Basel), *April 5th*; Spain, Peace of Bâle a three months later. Armies everywhere successful: Catalogue of

Victories and Conquests hung up in the Convention Hall. Famine of the lower classes. Fouquier-Tinville guillotined (*May 8th*). Insurrection of Prairial, the Second attempt of Sansculottism to recover power ('1 Prairial,' *May 20th*); Deputy Féraud massacred:—issues in the Disarming and Finishing of Sansculottism. Emigrant Invasion, in English ships, lands at Quiberon, and is blown to pieces (*July 15th-20th*): La Vendée, which had before been three years in Revolt, is hereby kindled into a 'Second' less important 'Revolt of La Vendée,' which lasts some eight months. Reactionary "Companies of Jesus," "Companies of the Sun," assassinating Jacobins in the Rhône Countries (*July-August*). New Constitution: Directory and Consuls,—Two-thirds of the Convention to be reelected. Objections to that clause. Section Lepelletier, and miscellaneous Discontented, revolt against it: Insurrection of Vendémiaire, Last of the Insurrections ('13 Vendémiaire, Year 4,' *October 4th, 1795*); quelled by Napoleon. On which "The Revolution," as defined here, ends,—Anarchic Government, if still anarchic, proceeding by softer methods than that of continued insurrection.

APPENDIX

JUSTICE

PART I

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REFERENCES: Dareste de la Chavanne, *Histoire de l'Administration en France* (Paris, 1848); A. Chéruel, *Histoire de l'Administration Monarchique en France* (Paris, 1855); Boiteau, *L'État de France en 1789* (Paris, 1861); Babeau, *Le Village sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1878); Ch. V. Langlois, *Textes relatifs à l'Histoire du Parlement depuis les Origines jusqu'en 1314* (Paris, 1888); Félix Aubert, *Le Parlement de Paris de Philippe-le-Bel à Charles VII* (Paris, 1886); and *Histoire du Parlement de Paris de l'Origine à François I* (Paris, 1894); Bastard d'Estang, *Les Parlements de France* (Paris, 1858); Charles Desmaze, *Le Parlement de Paris* (Paris, 1860), and *Le Châtelet de Paris* (Paris, 1870); Alphonse Callery, *Histoire des Attributions du Parlement, de la Cour des Aydes et de la Chambre des Comptes depuis la Féodalité jusqu'à la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1880); F. Ménilhou, *Les Parlements de France: leur caractère politique depuis Philippe-le-Bel jusqu'en 1789* (Paris, 1863); E. Glasson, *Le Parlement de Paris, son rôle politique depuis le règne de Charles VII jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris, 1901). Gasquet, *Précis des Institutions de l'ancienne France*, gives a useful summary; and reference may conveniently be made on particular topics to Ludovic Lalanne, *Dictionnaire Historique de la France* (Paris, 1877), which contains a very good article *s. v. Parlement*; and to Chéruel, *Dictionnaire Historique des Institutions de la France* (Paris, 1884).

A. Central Jurisdiction.

In the tenth century, when Western Francia or France was finally severed from the other dominions of the Karolings and became a separate state, the power of the monarchy was extremely weak and inefficient. The early Capetian kings were lords of Paris and of the Ile de France, but outside their own domain they could exercise very little authority. Within the various duchies and counties of which their kingdom was made up, the territorial lords were practically supreme. For the next five centuries the history of France is the history of the growth of the French monarchy, and under its guidance France was enabled to play a prominent, in some ways the most prominent, part among the states of Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the religious wars in the later part of the sixteenth century rendered it necessary to do some of the work afresh, the substantial victory of the monarchy over opposing forces may be considered to have been won in the previous century in the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI,

In the history of the growth of royal authority we may note three chief processes: (1) the great fiefs were gradually absorbed by conquest, inheritance or escheat, in the royal domain, so that the king became, not merely the suzerain of his great vassals, but the direct lord of all his subjects; (2) the royal administration and especially the royal jurisdiction was extended over the whole of France and territorial or seigneurial justice was either abolished or else reduced to insignificance; (3) the mutual jealousy of the classes or estates was encouraged, and the monarchy was enabled to play off one class against the other and so to abase each in turn before itself. It is the second of these processes which gave rise to the judicial system of France under the *Ancien Régime*.

The early Capetian kings had a double jurisdiction: (1) within their own domain they had the same authority as any other great lord, and were aided in its exercise by a court or council, consisting of the immediate tenants on the domain; (2) as suzerains, they were from time to time called upon to decide disputes between the great tenants-in-chief, and by the essential principles of feudalism these could only be submitted to the judgment of their equals, *per iudicium parium suorum*. For their trial, therefore, the king had to call together some of his tenants-in-chief, and thus to constitute what came to be known as the "court of peers." Both these bodies, the domain court and the court of peers, are indiscriminately called in contemporary documents the *curia regis* or *cour du roy*. And under Philip Augustus and his successors the distinction between the two courts, never very distinct, became more and more slight. The domain court could, at need, be transformed into a court of peers by the addition to it of some of the great vassals of the crown. But the efficient members of the court were the trained lawyers, both clerks and laymen, who were introduced by Louis IX., and as the judicial system became more technical and elaborate, the unlearned barons found themselves more and more unable to hold their own with their professional colleagues. The court of the king, thus organised, resembled the English *curia regis* of the reign of Henry II. Its business was to aid and advise the king in all the functions of government, administrative, judicial and financial.

The work of the court was enormously increased in the thirteenth century, partly by the annexation of great provinces, such as Normandy and Languedoc, and partly by such deliberate encroachments upon feudal independence as the encouragement of appeals from the seigneurial courts to the king, and the reservation of certain *cas royaux*, which had to be brought in the first instance for royal decision. To cope with this increased mass of business, the principle of the division of labour was perforce adopted. In England the *curia* gradually split into a *concilium ordinarium*, a court of king's bench and of common pleas, and a court of exchequer. So in France the *cour du roy* split into three subdivisions, (1) a *conseil*, or general advising body; (2) a judicial court, to which the name *parlement* (originally applied to any meeting or discussion) came in time to be exclusively applied; and (3) a financial court, the *chambre des comptes*. There is no precise date to be given to this differentiation, either in France or in England. In both countries the change was gradual and due to the pressure of practical needs, and in both countries the division was very imperfect. The functions of the different bodies overlapped and the same persons often belonged to more than one division at the same time.

The great organiser of the administrative system of France was Philippe le Bel (1285-1314), and it is to his reign that we may attribute, not exactly the creation, but the final sub-division of the three original courts. From

the beginning of the fourteenth century is to be traced the separate history of the most famous court of justice in Europe, the *parlement du roy*, or, as it came to be called from its fixed home, the *Parlement de Paris*. Just as the court of common pleas was, for the convenience of suitors, fixed at Westminster, so the *parlement*, instead of following the king as the earlier *curia* had done, was stationed in Paris. There it took up its abode in the old royal palace, which was vacated in its favour when the kings in the fifteenth century quitted the island of the *Cité* for a more luxurious abode on the right bank of the Seine. And Philippe le Bel must be credited, not only with the severance of the *parlement* from the other parts of the central administration, but also with its first subdivision into chambers with separate functions. In an ordinance of his later years (*see* Langlois, *Textes relatifs à l'Histoire du Parlement*, p. 178) we find three such subdivisions: (1) the Parliament proper, or *grande chambre*, containing two bishops and two counts, and under them eleven clerks and eleven laymen; (2) a *chambre des enquêtes*, consisting of two bishops and seven other members; and (3) two *chambres des requêtes*, four members for the Langue d'oc, and seven for the Langue d'oïl or Langue française. But the *parlement* was not yet a permanent body: it met twice a year, at Easter and All Saints, each session lasted only two months, and the members of the court were nominated for each session. It was not till 1345 that sittings became continuous and life-membership became the rule.

By the reign of Louis XI. the *parlement* had become the supreme court of justice in France, and territorial independence had ceased to be a source of danger to the authority of the King. All the great provinces except Brittany had fallen in to the monarchy, and the absorption of Brittany was close at hand. The enormous growth of the central jurisdiction necessitated a double process of specialisation. The work of the Court had to be curtailed by the creation of provincial parliaments (*see* below), which were modelled, both in composition and powers, upon the parent court. The area within which the *parlement* of Paris was active was still extensive, as it included the Ile-de-France, Picardy, Champagne, Brie, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Angoumois, Berry, with the districts of Bourbon, Nivernais, Lyonnais, Auvergne, Mâcon and Auxerre. And while the territorial limits of the *parlement's* jurisdiction were restricted, the number of its members and its divisions for special work were increased. It is needless to trace in detail the various changes made from time to time in its organisation. In the eighteenth century there were no less than nine chambers or committees sitting for the discharge of judicial duties.

The *grande chambre* was by far the largest and most important of these divisions, and is often spoken of as if it were the whole *parlement*. It was in this chamber that the peers retained the right of sitting (only exercised on formal occasions) which had descended to them from their membership of the original *cour du roy*. A throne was reserved for the king, whose delegated authority was exercised by the *parlement* when he was not present in person, but who could in theory resume at any moment the judicial power which was his by right. Its ordinary members were the senior judges, who had passed through the work of the lower chambers. Just before its suppression the chamber was composed of a *premier président*, nine *présidents à mortier* (so-called because they wore a velvet cap shaped like an inverted mortar), and thirty-seven counsellors, of whom twenty-five were laymen and twelve clerks. But the following had also a right to sit: princes of the blood and peers; the chancellor and the *garde des sceaux* with all *conseillers d'état*;

four *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel du roi* (see below); the Archbishop of Paris and the Abbot of Cluny. Before the *grande chambre* came all appeals of importance from the local courts; charges of High Treason; and cases of first instance concerning the *régale* and other crown rights, the peers, the great officers of the crown, the university and hospitals under royal protection, etc.

At one time there were as many as five *chambres des enquêtes*, but two were suppressed in 1756. The three which remained at the outbreak of the Revolution were each composed of two presidents and twenty-four counsellors. The chief business of these courts was to conduct a preliminary enquiry into all appeals sent up to the *Parlement*. The lesser cases were settled in the *enquêtes*, but those of importance were simply prepared and reported upon for the consideration of the *grande chambre*.

Until the suppression of the *parlement* by Maupeou in 1770 (see below), there were two *chambres des requêtes*, but only one was restored in 1774. It contained two presidents and fourteen counsellors called *maîtres des requêtes*. This court decided the lesser cases of first instance which came before the *parlement*.

During the annual vacation from September to Martinmas the general business of the *parlement* was continued in a *chambre des vacations*. The first appointment of this chamber was in 1405, and it was confirmed in 1499 and 1519. It was not really a permanent division of the *parlement*, as its members were appointed annually from the *grande chambre* and the *enquêtes*. In the eighteenth century it usually consisted of a president and twenty-four counsellors.

The origin of the *tournelle*, or criminal court of the *parlement*, is obscure. From a very early date it was a custom to hand over criminal cases to a small number of judges from the *grande chambre*, and they were tried in the *tournelle*, or small tower in the palace.¹ There are several references to such a practice from 1436 onwards. But its final organisation seems to belong to the reign of Francis I. At the time of the Revolution the *tournelle* contained five presidents, twelve counsellors from the *grande chambre*, and four from each *chambre des enquêtes*.

The *chambre de la marée* was a small committee, consisting of a president and two counsellors, with cognisance of all cases connected with the fishing industry.

Connected with the *parlement* by their ordinary duties, though not by membership, were all the numerous followers of the various branches of the legal profession. The *procureur général*, whose office dates back to the thirteenth century, was an official of immense importance in the criminal jurisdiction of France. He was not only a public prosecutor, but was also charged with the superintendence of the police system and of prisons, with the protection of the royal domain, the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, etc. During a vacancy he acted as *prévôt* of Paris. Even more important in relation to the *parlement* was the *avocat général*, who ranked as chief of the *gens du roi*, and had often to act as intermediary between the crown and the contumacious judges. The *avocats*, who pleaded cases before the *parlement*, constituted an exclusive, privileged and dignified body, like the bar in England, though they had not, as in England, the prospect of promotion to the bench to stimulate their eloquence. Below them were the notaries,

¹ An absurd derivation of the name has been suggested, *vis.*, that it arose from the alternation of the members, who were chosen *tour à tour* from the other chambers for three or six months at a time.

ushers, clerks and other officials. The *bazoche* was a famous and often a turbulent association of the clerks of the *palais de justice*.

If the *Parlement* of Paris had been nothing but a great court of justice, this brief sketch of its organisation and functions might suffice. But its peculiar and unique prominence in French history is due to the fact that it claimed to be far more than a court of justice, and though its powers never equalled its pretensions, it actually was for two centuries the only public corporation which ventured to offer open and resolute opposition to the despotism of the crown. To understand this it is necessary to examine with some attention (1) the manner of appointment of members of the *parlement*, and (2) the claim advanced by a corporation of judges to have any voice in political affairs.

(1) In the middle ages the judges in France, as in England, were appointed by the crown, at first for temporary sessions, and then for life or during the royal pleasure. But in the fifteenth century we find a marked and curious divergence between the history of the two countries. In England, where the monarchy was never so strong as it became in France, the crown retained the right both of appointing and (until 1701) of dismissing judges. In the great struggles of the seventeenth century the control thus exercised over the bench was perhaps the strongest weapon in the hands of the Stuart kings. In France, on the other hand, the crown lost, first the right of dismissal, and then the power of free selection. This was due to a practice which is at the bottom of many peculiarities in French history, the sale of offices (*la vénalité des charges*). This practice, so fatal in many ways to the interests of the monarchy, was gradually introduced, for financial reasons, just at the time when the monarchy seemed to have won its greatest victory, in the reigns of Charles VII., Louis XI., Charles VIII. and Louis XII. It was in the last of these reigns that this ruinous method of raising money became a regular practice and was extended to membership of the *parlement* and the other sovereign courts. This had a double result. In the first place it was necessary to give security of tenure (*inamovibilité*). No man would pay a large sum for an office from which he might be dismissed at any moment, and so the king, in order to increase the value of his saleable appointments, had to resign the power of dismissal and to grant a life-tenure to the judges. In the second place it was desirable to make the offices more attractive by increasing the pay. Hitherto the judges had a salary (*gages*) from the crown. To increase this would constitute a new charge upon the revenue, and would be giving back with one hand what had been received by the other. But there was a cheaper way of achieving the same end. There had often been an informal custom by which the suitors, and especially victorious suitors, gave presents either in money or kind to the judges. Such presents, at a time when special value was attached to the rare and expensive products of the east, were called *épices*. This practice the better and wiser kings had endeavoured to check or even to prohibit altogether, so as to give their subjects the boon of gratuitous justice. But in the fifteenth century these payments became practically compulsory, and in the seventeenth century they were formally regulated as a normal system, suitors being taxed in proportion to the length of procedure and the value of the property at stake. From these two changes arose two important characteristics of French justice before the Revolution. It was, on the whole, impartial and fair, except where the prejudices or interests of the judges themselves were concerned. On the other hand it was extremely expensive and dilatory, and this was a frequent cause of grumbling and at times of formal complaint. The *gages* or salaries from the crown remained stationary,

and it was the *épices* of the suitors which furnished the greater part of the incomes which made the office of judge worth purchasing for a considerable sum.

In the sixteenth century seats in the *parlement* and other sovereign courts were sold to the highest bidder on each vacancy. As a financial expedient this had the defect of bringing to the exchequer occasional windfalls rather than a steady revenue. Sully, the most conservative of reformers, sought to remedy the result without altering the cause. In 1604 the existing office-holders were allowed to hold their seats as private property, to transmit them to their heirs or to sell them for their own benefit, on condition of paying a *droit annuel* or *paulette* (so-called from Charles Paulet, who is said to have suggested the scheme, and who certainly farmed the proceeds for the first few years). Attempts were more than once made to abolish the *paulette*, but they always met with the energetic and successful resistance of the official classes. Thus the *parlement* became a small judicial oligarchy, a hereditary corporation of judges, who could only be removed by violent or revolutionary means. The acquisition of hereditary right gave to the members of the sovereign courts the rank and privileges of nobility. They became the *noblesse de la robe* as distinguished from the older *noblesse de l'épée*. And they shared with the other members of their class that exemption from ordinary taxation which became in the eighteenth century the most cherished badge of noble rank. Von Sybel is not far from the truth when he says that the French judges were paid by privileges. And it was their interest in defending their privileges which made them the resolute opponents of all serious attempts to introduce financial reform.

(2) That so anomalous a body as the *Parlement* of Paris could claim a voice in the government of France was due to the custom which imposed upon the *parlement* the task of registering all public documents, royal edicts, treaties of peace, etc. This originated at a time when the *parlement* was still the submissive agent of the monarchy, and was certainly then regarded as a duty rather than a right. Yet the fact that such registration was in most cases necessary to give to an edict the force of law could not but suggest the possibility of remonstrance, or even refusal, if the measure was in any way repugnant to the members of the court. The kings themselves did not hesitate to encourage such a practice when it suited their own ends. Thus Louis XI. revoked the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges and the *parlement* refused to register the decree, thus enabling the king, to his own profit, to withhold from the pope the concession he had proffered. So Francis I. used the opposition of the *parlement* as a pretext for evading the humiliating treaty of Madrid. There seemed little reason to dread the resistance of a body which had no armed strength behind it, and could be easily coerced. If the *parlement* opposed any measure, the king could send *lettres de jussion* ordering it to proceed to registration. If these were disobeyed, the final expedient was a *lit de justice*. This was a formal session of the *parlement*, at which the king appeared in person, and resumed the powers which he had delegated to the court: *adveniente rege cessat magistratus*. Registration was ordered by the king, and all that the *parlement* could do was to add a note that its action had been *contraint et forcé*.

Yet in spite of its apparent impotence, the opposition of the *parlement* to the crown became a matter of very considerable importance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The last meeting of the States-General before 1789 was held in 1614, and with them perished any semblance of national control over the administration. The absence of regular constitutional

machinery, added to the greater independence conferred by the *droit annuel*, impelled the *parlement* to advance pretensions which, in view of its composition and functions, seem ludicrous to Englishmen, and to claim a decisive veto upon all acts of the government. There can be no doubt that the similarity of name with the English Parliament, then beginning its great struggle with the Stuarts, encouraged the French institution to believe that it could discharge similar functions. Richelieu, with characteristic thoroughness, met these pretensions by the edict of 1641, which ordered the *parlement* to confine itself to its judicial functions and to abstain from all intervention in affairs of State. His death was followed by the disorders of the Fronde, when the *parlement* and the nobles made a last effort to free themselves from the yoke that had been imposed upon them by the monarchy. Louis XIV. never forgave the *parlement* for its share in these disturbances, and a series of restrictive edicts in his reign culminated in that of 1673, which forbade the *parlement* to offer any remonstrance until after the registration of an edict.

With the death of Louis XIV. in 1715 there set in a few years of reactionary administration under the regency of Orleans. For his own purposes Orleans used the *parlement* to annul the will of the late king, and he rewarded it by restoring the right of remonstrance. This rendered possible a long and at times envenomed contest between the court and the *parlement*, which assumes a somewhat wearisome prominence in the reign of Louis XV. All sorts of expedients, *lits de justice*, exile to Pontoise, threats of wholesale dismissal, were vainly employed to intimidate the judges. At last in 1770 the Chancellor Maupeou determined to take a final step. The *Parlement de Paris* was abolished, and in its place was created a court of seventy-five members, nominated by the king and holding office at his pleasure, while their salary was to be adequate for their dignity and *épices* were to be abolished. The provincial *parlements* were also suppressed, and their duties entrusted to reconstituted courts (1771). The change, if accomplished at another time and by other hands, might have been both beneficial and popular. But the ministry was discredited and detested: the new court, nicknamed the *Parlement Maupeou*, never gained the confidence of the people, who had regarded with approbation the almost heroic, if somewhat selfish and short-sighted, resistance of the dispossessed judges. It was, accordingly, an extremely popular act of the young king, Louis XVI., when, on his accession (1774), he restored the *parlements* to their former power and organisation, although shrewd observers, like Voltaire, saw that they were more likely to be the champions of privilege and reaction than of any real measures of reform. This was soon discovered when the National Assembly set to work to form a new constitution, and the old judicial system of France, with all its anomalies and not a few merits, was swept away in 1790.

The *Parlement de Paris* was so much the most prominent and picturesque part of the judicial system, that it requires and receives more detailed consideration than any other court. The twelve provincial *parlements* may be more briefly dismissed. In a literal sense, they may be looked upon as local courts, but in a truer sense they were fragments or delegated commissions of the central judicature which were stationed, for administrative convenience, in local centres. Although we find traces at times of rivalry and ill-feeling between the *Parlement* of Paris and the *parlements de province*, yet on the whole they were united by the defence of common interests and may be regarded as forming one great corporation. The oldest and most influential of the local *Parlements* was that of Toulouse, for the province

of Languedoc. Originally instituted in 1302, it was reunited with the *Parlement de Paris* in 1312, and was not revived till the reign of Charles VII. (1443). In the eighteenth century it was divided into a *grande chambre*, a *tournelle*, three chambers of *enquêtes*, and one of *requêtes*. The energy and self-confidence of its members were shown in the vigorous resistance which they offered to the decrees of the national assembly in 1790. At Grenoble a *parlement* was instituted by the dauphin Louis in 1451 and confirmed by Charles VII. in 1453. Similar courts were created at Bordeaux for Guienne in 1462; at Dijon for the duchy of Burgundy in 1477; at Rouen for Normandy in 1499; at Aix for Provence in 1501; at Rennes for Brittany in 1553; at Pau for Béarn and French Navarre in 1620; at Metz for the Three Bishoprics in 1633; at Tournay for Flanders in 1668 (transferred in 1688 to Douay); at Besançon for Franche-Comté (taking the place of an earlier parliament at Dôle) in 1676; and at Nancy for Lorraine after the annexation of that province in 1769. There were also four *conseils-souverains* in outlying provinces: at Ensisheim (1657) and after 1698 at Colmar for Alsace; at Perpignan for Roussillon (1660); at Arras for Artois (restored in 1677); and in Corsica (1770). All of these were supreme courts in their respective districts.

While the *parlements* were the chief agents in the central administration of justice, there were other sovereign courts which possessed independent fragments of jurisdiction, especially in matters of finance. The *chambre des comptes* was, like the *Parlement de Paris*, an original subdivision of the *cour du roy*, and its separate existence dates from the reign of Philip IV. Its primary function was to look after the royal domain, which at the time of its origin was the sole source of royal revenue. It received and audited the accounts of local collectors; settled all disputes as to what was due from those who had to pay to the crown; and kept a careful register of all edicts concerning the domain, of all transfers of property, and of *lettres d'anoblissement*. The chamber was made stationary in Paris in 1319, and the appointment of its members followed the same changes as have been traced in the case of the *Parlement de Paris*. Though far less prominent in history than the latter court, the *chambre des comptes* was enabled by the practice of registration to advance similar claims to a right of remonstrance and from time to time to oppose the monarchy. In the fifteenth century it obtained a separate *procureur-général* and *avocat-général*, and in the eighteenth century it was composed of a *premier président*, twelve *présidents*, seventy-eight *maîtres des comptes*, thirty-eight *correcteurs*, and eighty-two *auditeurs*. Its jurisdiction had, however, been limited by the creation of provincial *chambres des comptes* at Rouen, Grenoble, Nantes, Aix, Dôle, Blois, Pau, Metz, Dijon and Montpellier.

In 1355 and 1356, when the English War had involved France in grave financial difficulties, the States-General sought to add to the revenue from domain by the institution of indirect taxes, a tax upon salt and upon the sale of certain commodities. The levy of these new impositions, collectively known as *aides*, required a new machinery in addition to the *chambre des comptes*. Hence arose the *cour des aides*, which became a permanent court under Charles V. Its functions with regard to the indirect taxes were similar to those discharged by the *chambre des comptes* in connection with the domain. It consisted in 1789 of a first and nine other presidents and fifty-four counsellors, and a *procureur général* and three *avocats-généraux* were attached to it. Most of the provinces which had a local *chambre des comptes* had also a local *cour des aides*. In some the two courts were combined together, or

one or other was attached to the provincial parliament. [On the difficult question as to the precise limits of the financial jurisdiction of *parlement*, *chambre des comptes* and *cour des aides*, see Callery, *Histoire des Attributions du Parlement*, de la Cour des Aides, et de la Chambre des Comptes depuis la Féodalité jusqu'à la Révolution Française (Paris, 1880).]

In the fourteenth century the French kings gained an important victory for centralisation by establishing the principle that coinage was a royal right. Hitherto questions pertaining to the currency had concerned only the domain and came before the *chambre des comptes*. In 1358 a separate *cour des monnaies* was created, and in 1551 it was made a *cour souverain*, its members taking rank immediately after those of the *cour des aides*. Its jurisdiction included all charges against officials and workmen of the mints, money-changers, jewellers, and generally all concerned with manufacture or trade in precious metals. It consisted at the time of its abolition in 1790 of a *premier président*, eight *présidents*, and thirty-five *conseillers*. From 1704 to 1771 there was a separate *cour des monnaies* at Lyons.

Jurisdiction in the department of *eaux et forêts*, originally belonging to the *parlement*, was given in 1558 to a court in Paris known as the *table de marbre*. Similar courts were created locally in connection with the provincial *parlements*. These bodies, though they had a large amount of business in hearing appeals against the action of local officers, never attained to the dignity of sovereign courts.

The *châtelet* was geographically a central court, and it is of great prominence in the history of France. But in strict theory it is the local court of the *prévoté* of Paris, and only differs from the courts of other *prévotés* on account of its position in the capital and the consequent importance of its functions.

The institutions enumerated above constitute the normal machinery of central jurisdiction in France before the Revolution. But side by side with them there existed what was, in origin and theory, an exceptional jurisdiction, and this was in practice almost as active and important as the work of the ordinary courts. An illustration from English history will serve to make the matter clear. In England the ordinary exercise of royal jurisdiction was delegated in the thirteenth century to the great courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer. But the king did not surrender his judicial power, and as time went on he was called upon to exercise it more and more. Hence arose, side by side with the ordinary courts, the jurisdiction of the *concilium ordinarium* or Privy Council, and of its numerous off-shoots such as the Court of Chancery, the Star Chamber, the High Commission, etc. In France we can trace a similar course of events. The king never abdicated his judicial power. He could, if he chose, preside in the *Parlement de Paris*, when the session became a *lit de justice* and the personal authority of the king overrode the power of the ordinary counsellors. He had the right of *évocation*, i.e., he could transfer a suit from any court to another or to his own council. He could appoint special judicial commissions for the trial of any particular case. He could, of course, grant a pardon from any sentence, and he possessed a power of arbitrary imprisonment by *lettres de cachet*.

In the exercise of his judicial authority the king was aided, as in the other work of government, by his *conseil*. So burdensome did this judicial work become that it was found necessary in 1497 to create a new court, the *grand conseil*, which bears in its origin the same relation to the *conseil du roy* as the English Chancery Court bore to the *concilium ordinarium*. But the French court, though it was recognised as a *cour souveraine*, never played so

important part as its English analogue. Its jurisdiction was mainly concerned with disputes connected with administration, and with cases touching ecclesiastical temporalities, though questions as to the *régale* were specially reserved for the *grande chambre* of the Paris *parlement*. The *grand conseil* was less independent, or at any rate less obstructive than the *parlement*. Dubois, when he quarrelled with the *parlement* about the Bull 'Unigenitus,' tried to humiliate his opponents by extending the powers of the *grand conseil*, and even had the Bull registered by it. In 1753, with the same object, Louis XV. handed over all ecclesiastical questions to the more submissive court. In 1771 Maupeou abolished the *grand conseil*, not because it had given any offence, but because he wished its members to fill the new courts which he was forming to take the place of the dissolved *parlement*. But in 1774 the old judicial machinery was restored, and the *grand conseil* continued to exist till 1790. It was composed in its last days of a *premier président*, four *présidents à mortier*, and forty-eight counsellors. Its sessions were held in the Louvre.

In spite of the creation of this court, the judicial work of the royal council continued to be very heavy, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we find it in the hands of a regular committee of the council, called the *conseil des parties*, which sat under the presidency of the Chancellor. In some ways this was the most important and efficient court in France, because it represented an omnipotent executive authority, and also because its special duty was to facilitate and strengthen the work of administration. Its nearest equivalent in English History is the Court of Star-Chamber under the Tudors. Before it were brought most of the suits which were "evoked" by royal authority from the lower courts, important cases affecting officers of the crown, and appeals against the action of the local *intendants*.

The preparation of cases for the consideration of the *conseil des parties* was in the hands of a body of men known as the *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel du roi*. These are to be carefully distinguished from the *maîtres des requêtes du parlement*, though at an early period the distinction was by no means clearly marked. These men, who were under the control of the Chancellor, were not unlike the English clerks in Chancery in the Middle Ages. They acted as *rapporteurs* to the royal council. All administrative appeals, all demands for the *évocation* of suits or for the quashing of judicial decisions, came in the first instance before them. They prepared all documents for the great seal. There were about eighty of these officials, but only half of them were in attendance on the council for alternate periods of three months. The other half formed a judicial court, called *les requêtes de l'hôtel*, which was the court of first instance for suits in which persons were involved who had letters of *committimus*. These letters, which were granted to nearly all members of the official and privileged classes in France, exempted the holders from ordinary jurisdiction and entitled them to bring their cases before the *hôtel du roi*. This system of *droit administratif* (see Dicey, Law of the Constitution, xii.), by which servants of the state are protected from the rules of ordinary law as enforced in the ordinary courts—a system for which there is no name in English—is one of the dominant features of the judicial administration of France. It undoubtedly lent itself to serious abuses under the *Ancien Régime*, but the system was so deeply rooted in the French mind that the Revolution not only failed to effect its destruction, but systematised it and gave it a definite procedure and terminology which it had not possessed before.

The *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel* formed the great nursery of French administrators. Most of the prominent ministers of the eighteenth century began their official career as members of this body, from which were usually chosen the *intendants*, the *conseillers d'état*, and the secretaries of state.

B. Local Jurisdiction.

The local administration of justice in France is rendered obscure, partly because the monarchy retained, in order to make money by their sale, a number of offices which were practically obsolete, and partly because judicial functions were never sharply divided from financial and general business. The earliest royal officials under the Capet kings were the *prévôts* of the original duchy of Paris. They were busied with all branches of administration, and looked after all the interests of the King in his domain. By far the most important of the *prévôts* was the *prévôt* of Paris, whose court came to be known as the *châtelet* from the ancient fortress, part of which dated back to Roman times, in which it sat. In later days it was split into three chambers, in which were respectively judged civil suits, criminal cases, and appeals from lesser courts. The importance of the *châtelet*, as the chief criminal court in the capital, may be measured by the fact that in 1771 there were more than 1,550 of its agents at work in Paris.

As the royal domain increased, and especially after the great acquisitions of Philip Augustus, the number of the *prévôts* was increased until it became inconveniently large. To simplify and centralise the administration, new officials, called *baillis*, were appointed in the thirteenth century, and their district, which was larger than a *prévôté*, was called a *bailliage*. In Languedoc, after its annexation, similar officers were created, but they were called *sénéchaux*, and their districts *sénéchaussées*. The *baillis* and *sénéchaux*, to whom the *prévôts* became subordinate, may be compared with the English sheriffs in the Norman and Plantagenet times. Like the sheriffs they superintended within their district justice, finance and military organisation. Like the sheriffs they were first employed and promoted as royal officers, and then regarded by their employer with jealousy and suspicion. Gradually their powers were taken away or carefully restricted. Their financial administration was carefully supervised by the *chambre des comptes*, and many of their functions in this department were in the fourteenth century handed over to the *élus*. The command of the local troops was taken from them and entrusted to special military officers. Their jurisdiction, once very extensive, was subordinated by the encouragement of appeals to the *parlement*, and was practically annihilated by the creation of *présidiaux* in the sixteenth century. Thus, again like the English sheriffs, the *baillis* sunk to the position of purely ornamental officials, with no important function at all. Their district, the *bailliage* or *sénéchaussée*, became as obsolete as their powers, until it was revived in 1789 as an electoral division for the choice of deputies to the States-General.

There were a number of local officials whose functions were mainly financial, but who had judicial duties in connection with finance. The chief of these were (1) the *trésoriers*, who collected the dues from the domain and accounted for them to the *chambre des comptes*; (2) the *élus*, who were originally appointed by the States-General of 1356 in connection with the new taxes or *aides* which were then imposed (their district was called an *élection*, and they were subordinated to the *cour des aides*); (3) the *receveurs*

généraux created in the sixteenth century. An edict of 1577 divided France into sixteen districts, in each of which was appointed a *bureau des finances*. Each *bureau* contained two *trésoriers*, two *receveurs-généraux*, and three other members. These districts were called *généralités*, and by 1789 their number had grown from sixteen to thirty-three. The *élections* in those provinces in which they existed (there were 179 *élections* in the eighteenth century) were now subdivisions of the *généralité*, and the *élus* were subordinated to the control of the *bureaux*. The *généralité*, originally instituted for financial reasons, remained until the Revolution the chief administrative division of France.

The most important judicial change of the sixteenth century was the creation of a court midway between the *parlements* and the courts of the *bailliages*. This was the *présidial*, composed of nine judges who tried without appeal all civil cases in which property not exceeding 250 livres in value was involved. From 250 to 500 livres, they could try the case, but subject to appeal to a *parlement*. They had also a criminal jurisdiction similar to that of the *baillis*, whom they practically superseded. The number of *présidiaux* was originally thirty-two, but was afterwards increased to a hundred.

By the eighteenth century most of the *présidiaux* had fallen into such decay that seats in them were hardly saleable. The chief causes of this were, (1) the old money limits were retained though the value of money had enormously decreased; and (2) the number of persons who had letters of *committimus* had been lavishly multiplied. Thus most of the local courts had hardly any work to do, and their profits were proportionately small.

Another cause of the declining importance of local jurisdiction was the appointment of the most famous and influential agents of the central administration, the *intendants*. In the sixteenth century it was a not uncommon practice to send out *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel* into the provinces with special commissions. Richelieu appointed similar officials and made them permanent. Their full title was Intendants of justice, police and finance, and their district was the *généralité*. Their posts were never sold, and they could be dismissed at pleasure. They were thus completely under the control of the central government, and there was never any attempt on their part to obtain independence. From the first they were regarded with bitter jealousy both by the nobles and by the *parlements*. One of the earliest demands of the Fronde was for their suppression, and an edict to that effect was actually extorted by the *Parlement de Paris* (July 13th, 1648). But the failure of the Fronde was followed by the revival of the *intendants*, and the reign of Louis XIV. witnessed their establishment in every *généralité* and an enormous increase in their powers. Each *intendant* had a *subdélégué*, nominated by himself.

The *intendant* was not primarily a judicial officer, any more than the *conseil du roi* was primarily a court of justice. But the *conseil* was a court of justice, and the *intendant* had a dominant voice in controlling local jurisdiction. In fact the manifold functions of the *intendant* may be best grasped by regarding him as the agent and representative of the dominant council. And his influence was the greater because it was from his reports and those of his colleagues that the council received the information and the suggestions upon which the royal edicts were based. The efficient government of France, apart from the carrying on of routine duties, was in the hands of the council and its trusted agents. As De Tocqueville says (p. 130 of the English translation), "the administrative engine built up was so vast, so complicated, so clumsy, and so unproductive, that at last it was left swinging on

in space, while a more simple and handy instrument of government was framed beside it; and this really performed the duties which these innumerable officials were supposed to be doing."

One great object of the local administration which the central government built up in France had been to supplant or destroy the territorial power of the nobles and especially the seigneurial right of justice. This object had been satisfactorily achieved long before the Revolution. In the Middle Ages the feudal lords had enjoyed very extensive power, *haute, moyenne, or basse justice* according to their rank and influence. *Haute justice* included criminal cases, and its holder could erect a gallows and a pillory. But these distinctions had long disappeared before 1789. It is true that seigneurial justice remained, but it had been immensely curtailed, and it had lost all real independence. The surviving rights were valued, not as a basis of power, but as a source of revenue. The lord no longer took any personal part in jurisdiction, and his authority consisted merely in the right to appoint a judge to represent him. And even in this the government stepped in to direct his choice. A series of edicts prescribed a number of qualifications for the seigneurial judges, with the result that the office was usually entrusted to educated and capable men, instead of to mere tools of the lord. And their functions were narrowly limited. Ever since the thirteenth century a number of cases, such as treason, sedition, false coinage, etc., had been reserved, as *cas royaux*, to the justice of the king, and the number of these cases had been steadily increased. Also appeals from the decisions of the seigneurial courts to the *parlements* had been, first allowed, and then encouraged. In this we see the constant policy of the French government to gain the favour of the people by protecting them against arbitrary oppression on the part of the nobles. One benefit, however, they failed to grant, in local as in central administration, *viz.*, gratuitous justice. The seigneurial judges were ill-paid, and they gained their income by exacting contributions from the suitors. The less they had to do, the higher their charges became. It was as necessary to pay the local judges for the decision of a petty case, as it was to pay the *grande chambre* for the settlement of an important appeal. The multiplicity of local tribunals in the provinces, where the seigneurial judges sat side by side with the royal *présidiaux* and *prévôts*, with the *intendants* and sub-delegates, constituted a serious burden upon the people. But it had one beneficial result. It spread through France a number of trained and educated lawyers, familiar with local needs and capable of giving expression to them. This serves in some measure to explain the marked ability shown in many of the electoral assemblies in 1789. It was these trained lawyers who drew up the *cahiers* of grievances, often admirable both in matter and style, and it was from among them that were chosen many of the most competent delegates of the *Tiers-État* in the States-General.

JUSTICE

PART II

BY THE EDITOR

The judicial changes made by the Revolution were not by any means so absurd as the administrative changes: there were many good lawyers in the Constituent, and although the codification of law was not begun before the Committee of the Convention, appointed for that purpose in the summer of 1793, and although it was not completed till 1804, it was evident from the first that the *droit coutumier* would get the better of the *droit écrit*, in spite of the protests of the Southern lawyers.

In the meantime, with the abolition of the provinces, all provincial privileges and customs, legal as well as administrative, were swept away, and yet no one system of law was substituted for the old diversities: until the end of the Convention, it was impossible to say what law any one judge—departmental or district—was administering.

The reorganisation of justice is heralded in a law of Oct. 1st, 1789, which (Hélie, *Les Constitutions de la France*, i. p. 45) asserts the strange principle of election of judges, and declares that, though in the name of the King, justice must be administered by legally established tribunals according to the principles of the Constitution. The first actual blow at the *Parlements* was dealt on Nov. 3rd, 1789, on the motion of Lameth, that for the moment the legal business of the country was to be transacted by the *Chambres de Vacation* only. Meanwhile the amount of compensation for the judicial offices to be abolished was fixed at 350 millions. On August 16th—24th, 1790, further and more detailed legislation was carried, which (Hélie, i. 146, *sqq.*) abolished sale of office and made justice gratuitous; all judges were made elective; the form of election was through the “secondary electors,” and office was tenable for six years, when a judge might be re-elected. Thourêt’s committee proposed that the King should have the power of selecting the judge from candidates proposed by the electors, and this proposal was only lost by 53 votes, a fact which shows that the assembly was alive to the dangers of an elective magistracy (Hélie, i. 159). Once elected, a judge might be shifted from one court to another without the necessity of re-election (Hélie, i. 159). The King had to confirm elections and hand over the patents to the judges, but he had no power to refuse them. A judge had to be thirty years old or more, and either to have practised at the bar or sat on the bench for five years previous to election: judges were not to legislate or make *règlements*, but to refer to the assembly if a law required interpretation or if a new law was wanted. The legislative, judicial and administrative bodies were specifically separated. To all citizens was given the right to plead their own causes either verbally or in writing. There

were to be Elective Juries of at least twelve for criminal cases, and the prisoner was to have the right of challenging twenty jurors without cause assigned; juries in civil cases were rejected after some discussion; much encouragement was given to arbitration; privileged justice was abolished: causes were not to be delayed, but to come up in their regular order; measures were to be taken for the simplification of civil procedure; the criminal code to be subject to perpetual revision.

A *juge de paix* and two *prudhommes* (assessors), to be elected biennially by the "primary electors" in each *canton*, and in each town of over 2,000 inhabitants, had jurisdiction in matters concerning personal property only, without an appeal where the property involved was of less than 50 *liv.* in value; these courts also dealt with cases of local disputes, slanders, assault and battery and the like, when not coming within the cognisance of the Criminal Courts: appeals from the *Juges de Paix* lay to the *juges de district*. In each *district* there was to be a Civil Tribunal of five judges (and four *suppléants*)—in cases where there was a town in the district of 50,000 inhabitants or upwards, six judges sitting in two courts—they were to have jurisdiction, in addition to appeals from the *Juges de Paix*, in all personal property cases, except such as were cognisable by the *Juges de Paix* and also, excepting *affaires de commerce*, in districts where there were *Tribunaux de Commerce* (*vide infra*); the limit was an involved value of 100 *liv.* personalty, and for real property 50 *liv.* Appeals from these tribunals were much discouraged, but an arrangement was introduced by which parties could agree to appeal to any district tribunal in France.

The District Tribunals constituted by this new law were far too numerous; there were 544 Tribunals in all, and the result was that the judges were both idle and inexperienced. (The Constitution of the year III. saw this, and substituted Departmental Tribunals; an error in the opposite direction (Hélie, i. 454, 474.) Some of the *commissaires du roi* were to practise in each court: their duties were to insist on the enforcement of laws which concern public order: to see that the interests of absent parties were not neglected: they were to insist on the observance of the regular forms and, after judgment, on the execution of the laws. To the innumerable Municipalities was unfortunately given the entire system of police, with only an ill-defined appeal to the district tribunals.

Commercial courts of five judges each were established in commercial centres: they had the final decision in commercial cases where not more than 1,000 *liv.* were involved: as these judges were elected by an assembly of merchants, bankers, etc., they would probably be local and experienced business men. On Sept. 11th, 1790, regular "Administrative Tribunals" were established to have cognisance of matters concerning tax-collecting, public works, high roads, police.

Paris, that is the City and Department, was (by the law of Aug. 25th, 1790) to have six civil Tribunals each with five *juges*, four *suppléants* and a *commissaire du roi*: and (by the law of Sept. 25th, 1790) (Hélie, i. 168) a *Juge de Paix* in each section.

By a decree of Nov. 27th, 1790, the new judicial system was augmented by the establishment of a *Cour de Cassation* (Hélie, i. 185, *sqq.*) which had jurisdiction over all the lower courts except the *juges de paix* when judging *en dernier ressort*; but the decisions of this court were restricted to the annulling of previous judgment on account of bad law, errors in procedure, etc.; it could not pronounce a judgment of its own. The judges of the *Cour de Cassation* were elected by the departmental authorities, forty-two at a time

for four years; forty-two departments being drawn to elect at the first election, the remaining forty-one electing at the next.

By laws of Jan. 20th, and Feb. 25th, 1791, a Criminal Tribunal was established in each department,—a president named by the electors of the department, and three judges chosen to serve every three months from the District Tribunals (this was the only point in which the legislators condescended to copy old French Law): also a public accuser elected by the department for six years; this last is a very curious item, as it shows how profound was the mistrust of the executive: the public accuser is in fact 'the voice of common fame:' the executive might arrest a man suspected of crime but it might not bring him to judgment. Small criminal cases were cognisable by *Juges de Paix*; but there was to be a King's Commissary in each tribunal and the accuser might hear what he had to say.

Finally, on May 15th, 1791, a High Court was established at Orléans for trying persons accused of treason (*lèse-nation*); four judges and a jury of twenty-four, the latter chosen from a list of persons elected, two by each department, biennially: they can only act on accusations made by the Legislative Assembly: royal pardon is no bar to an impeachment before this court: the four judges are chosen by lot from the *Cour de Cassation*: it is usually said that the judges in this court were nominated by the King: the text of the constitution, as printed by M. Hélie, expressly says the reverse (pp. 290 and 230).

It is probable that if the old judicial system was too complicated, the new one reproduced that error: Mirabeau (writing to la Marck, Bacourt, i. 437) says that the new system was far too complicated.

Again, if the new system was less expensive, it was certainly less pure: we have seen that the judges of the *Ancien Régime* were at least independent and in practice irremovable; the elective judges of the new *régime* were under the most direct control of the new mob-sovereign, and to expect pure justice from a bench so constituted was foolish. At the same time there was much that was good in the new judicial system; it is at any rate less easy to point out in it glaring absurdities than in the new administrative system.

THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE REVOLUTION

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AUTHORITIES : Hauterive, *L'Armée sous la Révolution* [Paris, 1894 : especially good for the attitude of the troops towards the *Ancien Régime* and towards the Revolution, but gives practically no references and no statistics]; Duruy, *L'Armée Royale en 1789* [Paris, 1888 : careful and fairly complete, but gives more about the organisation and administration of the Army than about its tendencies, ideas and sympathies]; Chuquet, *Les Guerres de la Révolution* [Paris : a series published at various dates and dealing in great detail with the campaigns of 1792-3 : Vols. i. ("La Première Invasion Prussienne"), ii. ("Valmy"), iii. ("La Retraite de Brunswick") give a complete account of the first campaign in the East of France, with copious references, etc. : vol. xi. brings the series down to "Hondschoote"; the chapters in vol. i. on the French and Prussian armies are of great value]; Dubail, *Précis de l'Histoire Militaire* [Paris, 1879 : gives a few particulars as to the organisation, tactics, etc., of the Republican armies]; and other works.

THE great victories won by French arms between 1792 and 1815 have not always been assigned to their true causes. The ardent patriotism and fervid enthusiasm with which Frenchmen rallied to repel the invasion of 1792, the great organising genius of Carnot and of Bonaparte, the new spirit of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality, of which Valmy and Jemmappes are said to be the first-fruits, these and other reasons are often given, but one hears very little about the reforms by which the War Ministers of the *Ancien Régime* between 1763 and 1789 had laid the foundation for subsequent successes. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the work of Choiseul, of Saint-Germain and of Ségur had entirely perished with the Monarchy which they served, or to overlook the fact that the Army which checked Brunswick and saved the Republic in 1792 was only the old Army of the Bourbon Monarchy in a slightly different aspect.

In 1789 the "paper strength" of the French Army was some 180,000, besides 55,000 Militia as a reserve. [N.B.—The various estimates differ between 160,000 and 180,000, but Duruy ("*L'Armée Royale en 1789*," pp. 7-9) gives 181,000.] Of these the *Maison du Roi* accounted for 8,000, one half belonging to the *Gardes Françaises*, the regiment which was soon to earn an unenviable notoriety for ill-discipline by being the first in which serious disorders occurred, while the faithful but unfortunate Swiss amounted to 1,000. But the *Maison du Roi* was no longer the magnificent force which had decided the day at Steenkirk and won such fame under Louis XIV.; it had not been in action since Fontenoy and had lost much of its old prestige. Indeed it was felt that it was "under a King like Louis XVI. merely a costly anachronism" (Duruy, p. 49), as was shown by the disbanding of several corps, amongst others the *Grenadiers à Cheval* and the *Mousquetaires*, and

the reduction of the strength of the rest in 1775. But a more important change had been effected among the infantry of the line. Hitherto regiments had differed in organisation, in establishment, in pay, in privileges, in their relations to the general administration of the Army, according as they belonged to the *Vieux* (the oldest regiments in the Army, tracing their descent from the *bandes* raised by Francis I., the senior of which was the *régiment de Picardie*), to the *Petits Vieux* (e.g., the *Auvergne*, which dated back to Henry IV.), or were *régiments royaux* (9 in number), *régiments des princes* (10), *régiments à prévôté* (i.e., free from the Provost Marshal's jurisdiction and forming their own courts-martial), *régiments de gentilshommes*, *régiments des provinces*, or *régiments fournis de l'ustensile* (i.e., provided with baggage and camp equipment by the King) (Duruy, pp. 51-53). This chaos was now reduced to order, and practical uniformity in organisation and equipment introduced, each regiment having a definite establishment of two battalions each of ten companies, one being a grenadier company and one light infantry. The *Régiment du Roi*, which had four battalions, and the 12 regiments of light infantry, which had only one apiece, were the only exceptions to this rule. Of foreigners there were 23 regiments of infantry of the line, 11 being Swiss, 8 German, 3 Irish and 1 Italian, while in May 1778 to each of the 78 ordinary regiments of the line was attached a battalion of militia (known as garrison battalions) to serve as *depôt* in case of war. The Militia also included 3 regiments of royal grenadiers and 14 *régiments provinciaux*, 7 of them being artillery, 5 pioneers and 2 *gendarmerie* for Corsica and Paris, and were raised by ballot in a manner which bore very heavily on the classes subjected to it, as exemptions were readily obtained even by the lesser *bourgeoisie*. This service was exceedingly unpopular, as in case of war the militiamen were not discharged when their nominal period of 6 years' service expired, and were even drafted without their consent into the Regulars to fill up the gaps (cf. Duruy, pp. 141-149). Another reform was the large increase in light troops after the Seven Years' War (Duruy, p. 55), the light infantry and light cavalry being increased, while the comparatively useless heavy cavalry were reduced, 6 regiments being disbanded and the rest cut down from 4 squadrons apiece to 3. There were in 1789 24 regiments of "cavalry," 2 of "carabineers," 18 of "dragoons" (all these counted as "heavies"), 12 of *chasseurs* and 6 of "hussars" (these "light cavalry" had 4 squadrons per regiment), a total of 204 squadrons, averaging perhaps 150 strong. The artillery included 7 regiments each of two battalions, besides 6 companies of miners and 10 of pioneers, the engineers having no rank and file but only some 300 officers. In these "scientific arms" France was well ahead of all other powers (Duruy, p. 158), the reforms of Vallière and Gribeauval, the latter the greatest artillerist of the age, having had great results. An uniform standard of construction had been introduced at the different arsenals, together with many technical improvements in manufacture of the greatest importance (Duruy, pp. 162, 163), the multiplicity of types prevailing among the guns in use had been reduced, and while the 24-pounders and 16-pounders had been relegated to the siege-train, lighter pieces, which could co-operate freely with the other arms, had taken their place. In a word, the way had been paved for the great achievements of the French artillery under the Revolution and the Empire. Similarly it was universally acknowledged that the French engineers were unequalled in the other Armies of Europe, for even in the days of Frederick II. the Prussian Army had been distinctly weak in this branch, weaker far than the Austrians, who, in their turn, had to own the

superiority of the French (Duruy, pp. 175-184). In administration the French Army left more to be desired: the Supply Department had been efficient enough under Louis XIV., but had broken down under the different conditions which prevailed in the more distant campaigns of 1741-1748 and 1757-1762. Choiseul and Saint-Germain had tried hard to effect reforms, but maladministration, extravagance and inefficiency seemed too deeply rooted to be easily dislodged; the contractors continued to flourish and grow rich. Nevertheless in the Medical Department and in the hospitals a series of reforms had made France well ahead of Europe in 1789 (*cf.* Duruy, p. 200), and the reorganisation of the Supply Department in March 1788 might have been equally successful had it only had time to get into working order (*ibid.*, p. 196). In like manner the careful and systematic division of the country into 17 *commandements en chef* (March 10th, 1788), and the formation of permanent divisions and brigades (*cf.* Duruy, pp. 60-64), was overthrown before it had had a fair chance, but the influence of the tactical teaching of Guibert, who died in 1791 at the early age of 47, can be clearly traced in the wars of the Republic (*cf.* Duruy, pp. 250-254). Such work as fell to the lot of the French Army in the war of 1778-1783 was done in a fashion which testified to the improvements effected, and as the chief obstacles to these and wider reforms lay in those privileges and vested interests on which the Revolution declared war, it is not wonderful that when the Army fell into the strong hands of Carnot success should have crowned the efforts of France. The Revolution inherited from the *Ancien Régime* an Army with great possibilities; while it wrecked the Navy it only purged the Army and made it capable, now that it was freed from the incubus of Court favour and of privilege, of profiting by the improvements which the last years of the *Ancien Régime* had introduced. If the Revolution had had to create an entirely new Army all the fervour and "patriotism" of the volunteers of 1791 and 1792 could hardly have saved it even from the mild attacks of the Coalition; it was the Army of the Monarchy transformed into the Army of the Revolution which preserved the Republic.

It is in the conditions of service prevailing in the Army of the Monarchy and in the relations of officers to men that one must seek for the explanation of this change, and for the reason why the effect of the Revolution on the Army was so much less disastrous than its influence on the Navy of France. The officers must be taken first. From the standpoint of professional attainments they certainly left a good deal to be desired: brave, adventurous and high-spirited almost to a fault, they were for the most part ignorant of the military art, neglectful of their duties, idle, quarrelsome and overbearing towards civilians. But there was practically no incentive to make an officer devote himself to the study of his profession. Promotion and the giving of appointments and places went almost entirely by favouritism (*cf.* Duruy, pp. 76-78; Hauterive, p. 25). Court favour, the friendship of a Royal mistress or favourite, family influence, money, were all more powerful than merit. The majority of the regimental officers were drawn from the lesser *noblesse*, who, in common with the *bourgeoisie*, had little chance of obtaining advancement; indeed, while a *bourgeois* might buy his promotion, the provincial noble was too poor for that. It is true that the purchase of commissions was in 1789 almost extinct, thanks to the ordinance of 1776 on the subject (*cf.* Duruy, p. 74)—the *Ancien Régime* was in this respect almost a hundred years ahead of England—but the absence of a regular system of promotion and the glut of officers, especially in the higher ranks (there were over 2,000 officers of the rank of Colonel or higher, and

the Staff of the Army mustered 1,159, mainly holders of sinecures, in 1789), were most unfavourable to efficiency. When young nobles in their cradles received the command of regiments over grizzled veterans without influence at Court, when there were 36,000 officers, only 13,000 of whom were actually with the colours, in an Army of 180,000 (Hauterive, p. 26), the rest merely holding commissions because they obtained in this way that State support which every nobleman considered his due (*ibid.*), when out of a military budget of 91,000,000 *livres* 47,000,000 were devoted to the payment of the officers, when these officers were, in Saxe's words, "mal instruits, plus mal exercés, ne connaissant pas le soldat, à peine connus de lui en temps de guerre, jamais en temps de paix," when Belleisle was forced to complain of the want of subordination among the junior officers, who, as nobles, felt themselves the social equals of their superiors (*cf.* Duruy, pp. 91-93), when as a rule the officers were completely out of touch with their men and left nearly all the work to the non-commissioned officers (Hauterive, pp. 8-15), it is not wonderful that M. Chuquet goes to the length of calling the emigration "a blessing in disguise" (*La Première Invasion Prussienne*, pp. 67-69). The fact that even under the Monarchy the *sous-officiers* had done the greater part of the work of regimental administration goes far to explain the readiness with which they filled the vacancies left by the *émigrés*; they were on the whole a good set of men, old soldiers who had seen service and who embodied the regimental traditions and feeling (Duruy, p. 126; *cf.* Hauterive, p. 19). Saint-Germain had tried, though without success, to open the commissioned ranks to them, but the ordinance of July 1st 1788, which forbade the promotion of privates to be corporals, or of corporals to be sergeants without due examination, bears out the statement that one result of the American War had been to attract to the Army young men of a rather higher class and of better education, among whom were Hoche, Jourdan and Marceau (Duruy, pp. 127-130). Not divided from the rank and file, as the noble officers were, by prejudice and caste-feeling, the *sous-officiers* seem as a whole to have enjoyed the confidence of the men and to have been in touch with them. "Nowhere," says M. Hauterive (p. 1), "was the gulf between nobles and people so widely felt as in the Army . . . there was between the officers and the men a world of prejudices." Moreover, in zeal and in professional attainments the *sous-officiers* seem to have surpassed the officers. They had nothing but their own ability to which to look for promotion. Achille Duchâtelet said that the officers were to the sergeants as amateurs to professionals (*cf.* Chuquet, 1. 67), and he is supported by the testimony of many other witnesses, among them Bouillé and Lafayette.

In theory the rank and file were raised by voluntary enlistment, and the employment of force or false pretences was strongly discouraged, but in practice fraud and deception played a large part in the recruiting system, which had fallen into the hands of "crimps" of a low class, ruffians who found ready victims among ne'er-do-weels, runaway apprentices, lackeys out of place, loafers and "broken men" of every description, to whom the Army was as a rule a refuge from destitution or from justice (Duruy, pp. 26-29). Soldiers of fortune, they had the virtues and the vices of their class, turbulent, drunken, dissolute, needing a strong hand to keep them within bounds, but brave, spirited in attack, stubborn in defence, and ready, if well led, to follow anywhere. Between an Army composed of such materials and the soldier-politicians of the New Model there is little in common; the French rank and file of 1789 were not the sort of men to trouble about

principles and theories of government, to care for the "Rights of Man" or to be influenced by Constitutionalist or Republican leanings. People often talk as if the regiments which had seen service in America had returned to France ardent Republicans to a man, to serve as the leaven with which the whole French Army was to be leavened, until the troops were all adherents of 4th of July doctrines; but this view does not seem to be supported by the facts, and it ignores the practical difficulty of the mere difference in language which must have made communication between the soldiery and the colonists anything but easy. Not every man in the *Auvergne* or the *Royal Deux-Ponts* was a Lafayette, and it is interesting to notice that the *Deux-Ponts* was one of the regiments which is reported to have been loyal and in good order as late as the autumn of 1790, which hardly looks as if Republicanism had gained much hold over its ranks (*cf.* Hauterive, p. 130).

The truth of the matter seems to be that, like the English sailors in 1642, the rank and file of the French Army were influenced by strictly practical questions: the Monarchy was to them associated with the hardships of their lot, they looked to the Revolution as a chance of improving their conditions. It is true that judged by the "standard of comfort" of the classes from which they came the soldiers were by no means badly off for food and lodging, and that both in these matters and as regards the enforcement of discipline their lot compared very favourably with that of the Prussian or Austrian private (*cf.* Duruy, p. 137). Nominally the terms of service were not less than 8 years or more than 12 (Duruy, p. 32), but it seems probable that men often found it a little difficult to obtain their discharge when it became due; if time-expired Militiamen were compelled to continue in the ranks, there is no reason to suppose that equal pressure was not put on their Regular comrades. Desertion was rampant: men who had been entrapped into enlisting were not likely to remain in the ranks when they found that the promises made to them were not kept; enlistment was a contract, why should the soldier fulfil his share of the bargain? Indeed the gentle treatment meted out to deserters (Hauterive, pp. 6-7; *cf.* Duruy, p. 230) looks as if it was considered a very natural step on the part of the private. One may perhaps form some idea of the position of the soldier from a memorandum addressed to the *États-Généraux* by the officers of the garrison of Lille (quoted by Hauterive, pp. 75-76, *cf.* pp. 45-46, on the demands relating to the Army in the *Cahiers*). It draws attention especially to the inadequate pay and heavy duties of the soldiers, the exclusions and humiliations inflicted on the troops, the absolute lack of incentive or encouragement, "le soldat ne gagne rien à rester au service. On ne lui permet de se retirer que lorsqu'il est incapable de faire quoi que ce soit. S'il est réformé par accident ou par maladie il n'a aucun moyen de vivre." One may compare with this the declaration of a veteran captain of the 6^e *Infanterie* to Lafayette, that he did not love the Revolution, but that he fought for it because it gave him the pension which the *Ancien Régime* denied him (Lafayette's Memoirs, iii. 297; *cf.* Chuquet's summary of what the Revolution had done for the troops, i. 57).

Had Louis XVI. made a firm stand in defence of his threatened prerogative and position, and had he taken the necessary precaution of conceding the claims of the troops, and by improving their material position taken away the inducement which led them to favour the Revolutionary movement, he could have relied on the Army to follow him. The officers were loyal and the men, once their own grievances had received attention, would not have been deterred from doing their duty by constitutionalist scruples. Some sympathy between the troops and the mob there undoubtedly

was: in the summer of 1789 one finds the *régiment Saint-Rémi* fraternising with the rioters at Bordeaux and teaching them how to handle arms; at Rennes the regiments of *Artois* and *Lorraine* refused to fire on a disorderly crowd, to disperse which they had been called out, and swore never to imbrue their hands in French blood; but of adherence to the doctrines of philosophers and economists there are practically no traces. The disorders in the Army in the course of 1789 afford evidence rather of insubordination and of the neglect of the officers to keep a proper control over their men than of political disaffection. M. Hauterive sums up the matter by saying (p. 99, *cf.* pp. 56-65) "toutes ces insurrections eurent la débauche comme principe." The outbreak of the *Gardes Françaises* at the Palais Royal on June 27th, 1789, is perhaps the most typical of these disturbances, and it shows clearly that all the men wished for was to escape from the bonds of discipline and to indulge freely in the wildest orgies.

One may perhaps sum up the situation existing in 1789 by saying that the Army, though somewhat out of hand and to some extent affected by the prevalent unrest, was as yet loyal on the whole. The most serious feature was that the officers, who should have formed a link between the King and the rank and file, had quite lost touch with their men and had lost their authority over them also. Thus while material interests induced the men to favour *res novae*, the loyalty of the officers was no guarantee for that of the men, nor was there any tradition of victory or other sentimental links to bind the rank and file to the *Ancien Régime*. Rossbach and Minden had not been effaced by the exploits of the small contingent which had served in America, and the disastrous effects on discipline of the defeats of the Seven Years' War (*cf.* Duruy, pp. 209-216: the bad example of self-indulgence set by those in command had had a very bad effect) had not been overcome by the efforts of Rochambeau and Saint-Germain. Indeed the very severity of the military code tended to defeat its own ends, since it was enforced with such laxity as to be merely an empty threat.

Still the elements for a successful resistance to the rising tide of revolution were not lacking, had there only been a man capable of doing justice to them. Indeed it might be said that the Monarchy of Louis XVI. fell for want of any real effort to save it. Louis XVI. was in himself the most unsuitable champion of a theoretically indefensible position: "benevolent" he certainly was, but nobody could have been less of a "despot." Thus where a stronger man, unhampered by Louis' scruples and his desire to do the best for France, might have made a firm stand and so given the Army the lead which above all things it needed, Louis XVI. fell through sheer helplessness. Philosophers might condemn a system devoid of moral justification, over-burdened tax-payers might grumble and murmur, the peasantry might meet and even proceed to violence, but as long as the Army remained loyal the Monarchy was secure. And grave as was the state of the Army in 1789, the lesson of the events of the next three years would seem to be that discipline and the habit of obedience had still so strong a hold on the troops that vigorous and decisive action on the part of the authorities, coupled with due attention to the complaints of the soldiery, might have saved the Monarchy. The Army did not really cease to be the Army of the King rather than the Army of the French nation until the flight to Varennes proved to it that the assertions of the agitators were true, and that the King, rather than rely on the nation, was looking to the foreigner for help against his own subjects (*cf.* Hauterive, p. 232). M. Hauterive takes June 20th, 1791, as the date which marks "the change of the Army of the Monarchy into the Army of the Revolution"

(p. 163), but it would be a grave misconception to look on this change as other than a very gradual process, and an investigation of the course of events must show how slowly the Army drifted away from the cause of Royalty, and how discipline and military subordination retained a hold on the troops in the face of the most adverse circumstances.

When troubles first broke out in 1789, the troops on the whole did their duty admirably, any popular leanings they may have entertained being quite overpowered by the habit of obedience. Corn riots and incendiarism found them loyal, and though in some cases they displayed reluctance or even refused to fire on crowds which had assembled for political purposes, there was little hesitation when they were called upon to protect convoys of grain or to suppress riots or attacks on property (*cf.* Hauterive, pp. 52-53 and 71-73). Discipline, though somewhat relaxed, might easily have been restored by the tonic of firmness, but this was not forthcoming, and the failure of the authorities to punish the leaders of the outbreak of the *Gardes Françaises* had the effect of encouraging similar occurrences in other regiments, the bad example of impunity being irresistible. However, the first really serious blow to discipline was given by the surrender of the King to the Parisian rabble on Oct. 6th; his ignominious return to Paris seems to have shattered his prestige in the eyes of the soldiery. How could a King who obeyed the mandates of a mob expect to retain the respect of his Army? (*cf.* Hauterive, p. 85.)

From this point one may date the steady decay of discipline. During the winter of 1789-1790 the troops were restrained from active insubordination by being constantly occupied against marauders and rioters, but the "Federation" movement, which was now rampant, did not fail to affect the Army, and its progress went hand in hand with the decline of discipline. The Revolutionary propagandists knew the importance of gaining the support of the Army, and left no stone unturned: bit by bit the soldiers were taught to look upon themselves as the soldiers of France and not of the King, as citizens, not as a caste apart, to suspect their officers as reactionaries, to take a share in the "union of the nation" (*cf.* Hauterive, p. 88, etc.). It was in vain that the officers sought to regain the confidence of their men, and to recover the touch which they had lost (*cf.* Hauterive, p. 74): these belated efforts were bound to fail. And while the great majority of the officers were ardently attached to the Monarchy, there was even among them an influential minority who were in sympathy with the new ideas, and one cannot help suspecting that in these officers and in the non-commissioned officers of the type of Souham (an ex-soldier of the *Royal Cavalerie*) and Oudinot (a sergeant in the *Médoc*) the Revolutionary clubs and societies must have found agents ready to further their designs on the loyalty of the troops. These "pro-Revolutionary" officers, says M. Chuquet (i. p. 59; *cf.* Hauterive, p. 91), formed "an influential party"; all the young and ambitious men who had nothing to lose and everything to gain from the Revolution were devoted to its cause. Practically all the non-noble officers and some of the nobles who saw the chance of rising which they could not hope to gain by remaining loyal, those who had no influence at Court, those who were conscious of their capacities and only wanted a fair opening, were all on the side of the Revolution. Though a minority, they were formidable by their quality, including, as subsequent years were to show, many men of great military talent.

Meanwhile the uncertain attitude of the King greatly weakened his hold over the troops. Had he done what his enemies alleged he intended to do,

and, after incurring unpopularity by collecting the foreign regiments, on whom he could most rely, round Paris, used them to reassert his authority, the troops would at least have been given a clear lead, but it could not be expected that they should of their own accord rally round a King who did not seem to know whether he wanted to be defended. Thus the soldiers, at first mere spectators of the "federations," gradually came forward to take the oath themselves when they realised that the nation was proclaiming its unity and was anxious for them to throw down the barriers which had hitherto kept Army and people apart (Hauterive, p. 110). One can see how the foundations of discipline were being sapped, and how the new ideas were steadily making progress, when one finds the regiment of the *Vexin* refusing to quit Marseilles (Aug. 1790), and carrying its point by the aid of the townfolk (Hauterive, p. 120), when one reads of the demands of the troops that the regimental accounts should be submitted to their inspection, when one finds them accusing their officers of robbing them of their due and falsifying the regimental books. The great mutiny at Nancy (Aug. 1790) of the regiments *Châteauvieux* (Swiss foot), *Mestre du Camp* (cavalry) and *du Roi* (French foot) rose out of the demand of the *Châteauvieux* that they should be shown their books, but this mutiny, though a very serious affair, ended in a triumph for reaction, as Bouillé was able to collect a large force and to repress the rising, the bulk of the disaffected regiments taking no part in the proceedings.

The fête of July 14th, 1790, is another of the important epochs in the transition of the Army's allegiance: in Bouillé's words "it poisoned the troops" (Hauterive, p. 113). Delegates from every regiment were present, and the leaders of the advanced party took this opportunity of instilling among them distrust and suspicion of their officers, alleging that they were about to use the troops to support the cause of reaction. The delegates were cajoled, flattered and bribed: they returned to their regiments full of the new ideas, and from that moment independence and insubordination increased greatly. The officers felt that their authority was being undermined, they had by now realised the danger, and, full of disgust at seeing the King ordered about by the dregs of the nation, were preaching to the soldiers that the authority of the King was superior to that of the nation (Hauterive, p. 115). There was a struggle between the old ideas and habits of discipline and military obedience and the new spirit of independence and democratic equality so sedulously fostered by the extremists. Gradually one finds the men slipping over to the side of the Revolution, while emigration begins to drain the country of those who ought to have rallied round the King, and not to have given colour, by taking refuge with the foreigner, to the allegations of those who identified the Monarchy with the hated Austrians and Prussians (*cf.* Hauterive, p. 156).

The growth of the Revolutionary clubs and societies during the autumn and winter of 1790 marks yet another stage in the process. It was when the men began to attend the meetings of the clubs and to demand a voice in the administration of their regiments, when the clubs applied themselves to undermining the authority of the officers and tried to interfere in such matters as the movement of the troops from one garrison to another (Hauterive, pp. 142-148), that it became clear that the Army had got out of hand. Yet even now there was in Bouillé's army a strong minority of Royalists, including the foreign regiments and most of the cavalry (*cf.* Hauterive, pp. 130-131: the *Lauzun* regiment of cavalry cried *au diable la nation*). The first success for the reactionaries would probably have decided numbers of

waverers, but it was just at this time that the failure of the flight to Varennes (July, 1791) dealt the Monarchy a fatal blow. While the rank and file saw in it a complete confirmation of the accusations which the agitators had levelled against the Monarchy, the officers hailed it as giving them leave to abandon a distasteful and hopeless struggle against the rising tide of disaffection. Once the King had set the example of emigrating, the officers were practically released from their oaths and were free to follow his precedent. "The flight of the King, which did more for the Revolution than any other event, was the proof by which the Revolution recognised that it could count on the Army . . . it marks the transformation of the Army of the Monarchy into the Army of the Revolution" (Hauterive, p. 161).

Emigration on a large scale now set in and was accelerated by the action of the Assembly, which administered to the Army an oath of fidelity to the nation and to the Constitution which it should decree. Far more than the rank and file the officers felt themselves bound to the King's cause. "The nation" was nothing to them. Drawn mainly from the *noblesse*, they were attached to the Monarchy by birth, by caste-feeling, by family and professional traditions, by caste prejudices and by the training they had received. Sentiment and not interest was the foundation of their loyalty, for the lesser *noblesse*, who provided the majority of the regimental officers, stood little chance of promotion or distinction. Equally with the *bourgeoisie* they found themselves sacrificed to those who could invoke Court favour on their behalf, but their loyalty was proof even against neglect, and up till July, 1791, it had not been the lesser but the greater nobles who had been foremost in deserting the post of danger.¹ But after the King's return to Paris the regimental officers also began to emigrate. In some regiments the soldiers compelled officers who had refused the oath to quit the service, *sous-officiers* and privates formed committees to expel officers suspected of *incivisme*—a serious blow to discipline (Hauterive, p. 160). Whole regiments were left without officers, the 23^e *Infanterie* had only 1 captain at the beginning of 1792. To meet this emergency the Assembly declared all *émigrés* to be deserters, and proceeded to fill up the vacancies by the promotion of those officers and *sous-officiers* who remained faithful. Then began the meteoric rise of men like Kléber and Houchard, who rushed with extraordinary rapidity up from the lower grades: Ronsin, a captain on July 1st, 1793, was a General of Division by Oct. 5th, which would appear to be the "record" (*cf.* Hauterive, p. 294). Ambitious men saw their chance, the old officers gave place to *sous-officiers*, insubordination, fanned by local clubs, grew more rampant, and by the beginning of 1792 6,000 officers out of 9,000 had emigrated.

The events of the spring and summer of 1792, the declaration of war on Austria, Brunswick's manifesto, the outbreak of Aug. 10th, the advance of the Allies and the establishment of the Republic only serve to show how

¹ *N. B.*—The return of 1788 proves clearly that in the higher ranks of the Army the vast majority of the officers were nobles: all the Marshals (11), Lieutenant-Generals (196), all but 136 of the 770 *Maréchaux de Camp*, all but 6 of the 109 Colonels of infantry were titled, and even of the Brigadiers—a rank created by Turenne mainly to enable non-noble officers of ability to rise (*cf.* Duruy, p. 79)—123 out of 180 were of noble blood. Ségur's ordinance of May 22nd, 1781, seems to have been intended to provide employment for the great number of nobles of poor but old families, to whom no other avocation save the Church was open, and one object of it was to prevent the sale of certificates of noble birth to the *bourgeoisie*, who, despite all attempts to check them, were steadily buying their way into the Army (Duruy, p. 83); for the Artillery and Engineers no certificate of nobility was required, and these corps suffered much less from emigration than any other.

completely the Army had changed since 1789. The determined stand which might have saved the situation a little earlier was not forthcoming. Lafayette's half-hearted Royalism failed to awake any answering chord among the soldiery, he saw that his men were not with him and fled across the frontier (Aug. 16th, 1792). One or two regiments, the 6th Hussars and the *Châteauvieux* (Swiss foot), followed his example and a great many officers, Moderate Royalists and Constitutionalists, who had hitherto remained at their posts, now abandoned the hopeless struggle. There was, however, no general movement, the Army had made its decision and had thrown in its lot with the nation; a Monarchy which had displayed its want of confidence in its Army by appealing to the foreigner for assistance in a domestic crisis could hardly expect the Army to adhere to it in time of need. Yet even so the Army was rather *Modéré* than *Montagnard*; despite all the efforts of the Assembly to imbue the troops with Republican principles (Hauterive, pp. 255-257) the troops of the line seem to have been but little affected by political sympathies. They acquiesced in the death of the King but do not seem to have been anxious for it; when the news of his execution arrived there were no manifestations either of sympathy or disapproval, the men remained calm and indifferent (Hauterive, p. 258). Their task was to defend France against the foreigner, the trial and death of the King were matters in which they did not feel themselves immediately concerned.

That the great upheaval which had taken place in France since 1789, and by which the Army, like every other institution in France, had been so much influenced, must have greatly affected its capacity for carrying out its proper function of defending the country is obvious. The Constituent Assembly had introduced certain reforms, regulating the promotion of officers (one-fourth of the vacancies were in future to be filled from the ranks; up to the grade of captain promotion was to be by seniority, afterwards by selection), substituting numbers for the names by which the regiments had hitherto been known; thus the *Auvergne* became the 17^e *Infanterie*, the *Chartres Dragoons* the 14^e *Dragoons*, the famous *Cuirassiers* of Louis XIV., which had been so prominent at the passage of the Rhine in 1672, veiled its identity in the title of 8^e *Cavalerie*, while the 10^e *Cavalerie* were the old *Royal Cravate*. A more important step was the abolition of the Militia, a step due no doubt to the unpopularity of that force among the classes liable to serve in its ranks, but one of which the wisdom was at least open to question. The force ought to have been so organised as to be a link between the regiments of the line and the districts from which the Militia were recruited, and so it might have been a valuable portion of a "territorial system."

During the summer and autumn of 1789 there had been formed spontaneously all over the country local forces for local purposes, to keep order and preserve the peace. These National Guards were independent bodies of armed citizens, unconnected with the central military organisation or with the similar forces in other localities. With the possible exception of those of Paris, in whose ranks there were a large number of soldiers, who had deserted from the Regulars, attracted by the laxer discipline and easier terms of service which prevailed in these new forces, the National Guards were soldiers only in name, with not much more organisation, cohesion or discipline than the "brigands," to repress whom they were raised (Hauterive, p. 78). It can be easily understood that they added little to the military power of the country; indeed they seriously weakened the Army, not only by inviting desertion—the Paris National Guard is said to have included 16,000 ex-soldiers

—but by competing with it in the recruit-market. Thus while discipline and military subordination were being attacked and undermined, the ranks of the Army were being thinned by desertion, the flow of recruits had practically ceased, and absolute chaos seems to have prevailed in the administrative departments. There was an atmosphere of suspicion within and without: the troops expected their officers to desert to the foreigner at any minute, while the Extreme Left, looking upon the Army as Monarchical and Royalist, lost no opportunity of attacking it or of comparing it with the National Guards, to the advantage of the latter. Indeed it is rather remarkable that the Army continued to exist at all: not only was its organisation completely thrown out of gear by the emigration of so many officers, but the unceasing interference of the Legislative Assembly with every detail of discipline or administration made it impossible for such officers as were left to retain any vestige of control or authority over their men. It was only the war of 1792 which could cure the disorders by which the Army was being ruined: discipline regained its hold over the troops when the activity of the field of war replaced the idleness of the garrison, when the soldiers resumed their true work and had one pre-occupation only, war (Hauterive, p. 175).

After the flight to Varennes, when matters appeared to be approaching a crisis, the Constituent Assembly had decided to augment the "squeezed lemons" of the Regular Army by levying 169 battalions of Volunteers from among the National Guards. These battalions, each composed of nine companies, with a nominal establishment of 574 men, did not at first display many military qualities. Ideas of independence and equality did duty for discipline, their officers, elected by the rank and file, had practically no control over their men, though it must be admitted that they were for the most part chosen from ex-soldiers of the Army or Militia (Chuquet, i. 72), and the first exploits of these new forces were disorderly outbreaks and political demonstrations. They included, however, a great deal of good material, and active service in the end made good soldiers of them (*cf.* Chuquet, i. 70-71), but their movement to the frontier in 1791 was marked by rioting and by maltreatment of the unfortunate inhabitants among whom they were quartered, especially in Alsace (Hauterive, pp. 181 ff.).

At this time the Army of the line was 50,000 below its established strength, and, the influx of recruits having been entirely diverted into the Volunteers, was dwindling daily. The Assembly in July, 1791, had voted the increase of each battalion of infantry to 750 and every squadron of cavalry to 170 (Chuquet, i. 29), but so far from these numbers being attained, no infantry regiment seems to have been able to produce more than one of its two battalions for field service, and the cavalry regiments likewise had to leave one squadron behind them to act as a *depôt*. Even then Lajard and others were advising that the already existing forces should be brought up to full strength before new corps were raised (Chuquet, i. 31), and Narbonne at Kellermann's advice proposed to incorporate the Volunteers in the line (*ibid.*), but the jealousy which the Left entertained of the Army prevented the adoption of this salutary measure, and the confusion continued to increase. Luckner, in order to keep his line regiments up to strength, was forced to release from prison 600 men convicted of crimes against discipline [*ibid.*, i. 33].

The levy of the 169 "battalions of 1791" had not yet been completed, indeed only 83 of them were fit even for garrison duty when the Assembly, on the outbreak of war in 1792, decreed the formation of yet another 45 battalions. As M. Chuquet says, "the Legislative Assembly aimed at

nothing but numbers and, believing that any mob will make an army, kept on voting new levies without deigning to estimate the cost, or vote the necessary funds." These "Volunteers of 1792" were even more disorderly, more political and less soldierly than their predecessors of 1791, who, by the summer of 1792, were beginning to acquire some degree of discipline and efficiency, and to learn that patriotism cannot by itself compensate for the absence of military training and habits. "Plus embarrassants qu'utiles, plus redoutés que désirés par les officiers-généraux" is Biron's description of the new levies (Chuquet, i. 71).

The campaign of 1792 opened with an advance into Belgium, which broke down mainly owing to the indiscipline of the Volunteers, though the condition of the Regulars was little better. In May Rochambeau declared that he could do nothing with an army "indisciplinée et méfiante à l'excès." Indeed the whole force was in an incredible condition. Chaos reigned supreme in the administration; supplies, arms, ammunition were wanting in some places and exceeded all needs at others, suspicion and insubordination were universal. Regulars and Volunteers were at bitter feud and even amongst the Regulars regiments were continually fighting one another (*cf.* Chuquet, i. 44). Bad as were the Regulars, the Volunteers were worse. Many of them had availed themselves of the permission given them by the Assembly to return home at the end of the campaign, which was taken to be the 1st of December in each year. Had the Allies been ready to take the field in June, had their troops been reasonably efficient, had their co-operation been sincere, and had Brunswick possessed a tithe of the military capacity of his great kinsman Ferdinand, the campaign might have proved the "walk over" so many people anticipated. But though, if one considers the condition of the French Army only, it must seem remarkable that any attempt at resistance was made at all and positively miraculous that this resistance was successful, this apparent miracle can be explained by the condition of the Prussian army, which, if not as unsoldierly as the French, was quite as unfitted for practical warfare. Frederick II.'s system had become fossilised, pipe-clay and parade were all-important, and the portentous baggage-train, the obsolete and inefficient administration would have hampered the most energetic and capable of organizers and generals. When, however, the unthinking precipitation of Frederick William II. was combined with the lethargic movements, the irresolution and the hesitation of Brunswick, the result was not likely to be a conspicuous success.

It was during the months of July and August, 1792, that France was being saved, not indeed by the Assembly which declared *la patrie* in danger, which voted the levy of yet another 42 battalions of volunteers and authorised the formation of various motley gangs of pseudo-warriors, *compagnies franches*, *légion Allobroge* (Savoyards), *légion Batave* (Dutch exiles), *compagnies de chasseurs nationaux*, while Servan decided on the formation of a camp of 20,000 men to be drawn in fives from each canton, the famous *fédérés* of the camp at Soissons, but by Dumouriez, Lafayette, Kellermann and the other commanders of the forces in the field who seem to have met with some success in their efforts to establish discipline, notably among the old regiments of the line, and by accustoming their men to the sight of an enemy in various petty skirmishes (*cf.* Chuquet, i. 63-66) gradually restored them to a condition of efficiency. "La vie des camps," says Chuquet, "avait exercé sa bienfaisante influence sur les soldats. Les désordres causés par les clubs avaient cessé."

The popular legend which ascribes the credit for the repulse of Brunswick

and for the victories of Jemmappes and Fleurus to the Volunteers, the *Sans-culottes*, the uncertain "heap of shriekers," is absolutely unfounded, and the belief based upon this legend in the inherent superiority of democratic freedom and enthusiasm over discipline and professional skill rests on equally theoretical foundations. The figures given by Chuquet (ii. 161) as to the composition of the troops engaged in the "affair" of Valmy—from the military point of view it hardly deserves to be described as a "battle"—perhaps afford the best clue to an estimate of the relative shares of credit to be ascribed to Regulars and to Volunteers. Dumouriez had under his command 18 regiments of cavalry (regulars), 12 of infantry of the line, 2 battalions of light infantry, 6 of grenadiers detached from line regiments and 16 battalions of Volunteers of 1791. Kellermann's corps included 4 regiments of cavalry, 6 of infantry of the line, 2 battalions of detached grenadiers and 1 of detached light infantry, the only Volunteers being 12 battalions of 1791, a total in round numbers of 7,500 cavalry, 18,000 regular infantry and 14,000 Volunteers of 1791—not any of the levies of 1792; besides which the artillery, who practically decided the day, were all regulars, and were the arm of the service which had lost fewest officers through the emigration, and which had probably been least influenced by the events of 1789-1792. "Ce ne sont pas les volontaires de 1792 qui triomphèrent à Valmy et à Jemmappes," is M. Hauterive's conclusion (p. 246); "ce furent nos vieilles troupes de ligne. . . . Nos premiers succès sont dus à notre ancienne armée, comme nos premiers revers sont la conséquence de l'indiscipline des volontaires." M. Chuquet is no less emphatic (ii. 243): he ascribes the credit for the success—more moral than material it is true, but still sufficient to give the battle an importance which as a military event it cannot claim—to the old Army of the Monarchy supported by those of the Volunteers of 1791 who, from association with the Regulars and by experience of active service, had acquired something of discipline and soldierly qualities. The experience then of the campaign of 1792 can hardly be said to confirm the *Carmagnole* theory; it rather shows that the unregulated and unchastened "patriotism" of the volunteers, devoid of that cohesion and solidarity which in the end they received from being amalgamated with the professional soldiery of the old Army, was more dangerous to France than to the foreigner, that outbursts of frenzied enthusiasm will not suffice to defend a country by themselves, that a rampant democracy unrestrained by discipline is a double-edged military weapon.

But even after Valmy and Jemmappes all did not go well. The disorders from which the French Army was suffering were too deeply rooted to be cured in a moment. The defeat of Neerwinden lost much of the ground that had been gained just at the time (March, 1793) when the outbreak of the insurrection in La Vendée had added a new trouble to the difficulties of France, while Custine and the Army of the Rhine were being forced to retire behind that river. The desertion of Dumouriez (April) seemed to be the prelude to a complete collapse. The Army appeared to be quite demoralised and disorganised, the troops were practically a banditti and the officers were worth little more than the men (Hauterive, p. 270); desertion, pillage and misconduct of every kind were rampant, "an alarming lack of discipline was combined with an even greater cowardice" (*ibid.*). A little activity on the part of the Allies and such troops would hardly have proved an effectual barrier on the road to Paris. Two things only saved France. Even at this moment the troops of the Line retained some cohesion and were more or less in hand. Their officers were still able to exercise a control

over them (Hauterive, p. 273, *cf.* p. 277: "on peut dire qu'à ce moment où le désordre le plus affreux menaça de dissoudre les bataillons des volontaires, c'est-à-dire la partie la plus nombreuse de nos forces, les soldats de l'ancienne armée, les vrais ceux-là, conservèrent plus d'unité, plus de discipline, et, malgré nos échecs de l'été, sauvèrent la France de l'invasion"). Secondly, the reins of government fell into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, a body whose rule was certainly not lacking in vigour or in efficiency, and in that Committee the Republic found a master, while, in place of corrupt and inefficient administrators like Pache, Carnot proved himself to be a capable Director of the War, and utilised to the fullest extent the nucleus of good material which the relics of the old Army of the Monarchy provided. Even Carnot could hardly have welded the undisciplined Volunteers into an efficient Army. Notwithstanding the bitter hostility of journalists, of popular societies and commissioners of the executive, who lost no chance of attacking the Army, of accusing it wholesale of *incivisme*, and of denouncing all the officers as *aristocrats*, it formed the leaven with which the chaotic armed forces of the Republic were worked up into that magnificent military machine which Napoleon was to lead to victory. The Terrorists, whatever their faults, deserve the greatest credit for the steps which they took to restore discipline and to infuse energy into the Army: during the summer and autumn of 1793 *représentants* of the Committee succeeded in putting down most of the disorders which were threatening to dissolve the Army, in restoring discipline and establishing order in the administrative services. It is true that in many cases they neutralised the good they had done by ill-advised and officious interference with the work of the generals, by attempting to decide questions of tactics and strategy, and that many of them repeated the mistake which the Volunteers had made of imagining that demonstrative "patriotism" could compensate for ignorance and inexperience, but on the whole they did good work and among the results of the year 1794 must be set down the restoration of discipline and the infusion of energy into the Army which soon manifested itself in the suppression of the *Vendéens*, in the repulse of the Allies, the recapture of Toulon, and the conquest of Belgium and the frontier of old Gaul.

The date which one may take as marking the close of the "Revolution" period in the history of the French Army is the reorganisation effected in the spring of 1794. As long ago as Jan. 1792 it had been proposed to draft the Volunteers into the line, and in the campaign of 1792 Dumouriez, following the example of Lafayette, had brigaded line and Volunteers together (Chuquet, i. 76), not actually incorporating the two classes of troops in one force but practically uniting them. Thus the 17^e *Infanterie (ex-Auvergne)* was brigaded with the 1st battalion of *Volunteers of the Meurthe* and the 2^e *de Saône-et-Loire*, the 29^e (*ex-Dauphiné*) served alongside of the 1^e *de l'Allier* and 1^e *de la Charente*, the 99^e (*ex-Deux-Ponts*) with the 2^e *de la Marne* and 3^e *du Nord (ibid.)*. In June, 1793, in response to the advice of the *Représentants* (Hauterive, p. 273) this temporary arrangement received official sanction as the authorised organisation, though it was not till Jan. 1794 that it was carried out. By this time two years of active service and the zeal with which the Committee of Public Safety had enforced discipline had had good effects even on the Volunteers of 1792 and the *Réquisitionnaires*, and had turned them into real soldiers: the Volunteers of 1791 had done well in 1792 (*cf.* Chuquet, i. pp. 70-78) and together with the regulars were by now veterans. By the decree of *Nivôse* 19th (Jan. 8th, 1794) the infantry were organised in *brigades*, each consisting of one regiment of regulars and

four battalions of volunteers or *réquisitionnaires*, these brigades being in turn divided into *demi-brigades* (one battalion Regulars and two of auxiliaries) to each of which six guns were attached (in the Napoleonic era these *demi-brigades* appear as regiments, usually consisting of three battalions, occasionally of two). At the same time the cavalry were reorganised, the heavy cavalry being formed into regiments of four squadrons, the light cavalry having six squadrons to each regiment. Other reforms followed (*cf.* Dubail, *Précis de l'Histoire Militaire*, p. 51 ff.), but this date—1794—may be taken as marking the close of that period of transition which saw the Army of the Bourbon Monarchy transformed, while preserving the continuity of its existence, into the Army of Republican France.

Still one may trace in the Armies of the Republic and Empire the influence of this time of storm and stress, of upheaval and disturbance. The fighting capacities of the French troops of the Napoleonic period were marvellous, but their discipline failed to keep pace with their other military virtues; insubordination was checked, but it could never be said of the armies of Napoleon, as it was of the troops of Rochambeau, that "France could offer to the world the spectacle of an Army in which there has not been a single act of plundering or disorder" (*Duruy*, p. 221). The special circumstances of the occasion may perhaps account for the want of discipline which made the French Army in 1815 so untrustworthy and so incapable of standing the shock of defeat (*cf.* H. Houssaye, "1815," p. 83), but the taint of the excesses of 1789-1793 adhered to the French throughout the period, and the habits of plundering and pillaging, which made it so easy to trace their career of conquest through Italy and through Germany, were another legacy from those times of license and disorder. Indeed one may look upon the principle of "making war support war" as the official adoption of the private plundering which went on wherever French armies found their way: and if it is true that one reason for Napoleon's failure in Spain and in Russia was that in countries so poor this system of dealing with the question of supplies, so successful in more fertile lands, broke down, there can be little doubt that the robberies and devastations of the French armies played no small share in arousing that violent antipathy to Napoleon and his system which aroused Europe in 1813 and 1814 (*cf.* Thiébauld's *Memoirs*, especially vol. ii.).

THE FRENCH NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION

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AUTHORITIES: E. Chevalier, *La Marine Française sous la première République* (quoted as Chevalier ii., being sequel to a work on the American War), Paris, 1886; *La Marine Française sous le Consulat et la première Empire* (quoted as Chevalier iii.), Paris, 1886; L. Guérin, *Histoire Maritime de la France*, vol. iii., Paris, 1849; William James, *Naval History of England*, vol. i., London (stereotyped edition); Maurice Loir, *La Marine Royale en 1789*, Paris, 1892; A. T. Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire*, London, 1893. Besides these Troude (*Batailles Navales de la France*, vol. iii.) and Jurien de la Gravière (*Guerres Maritimes de la France*) are also useful. Of the above works Chevalier is much less biassed than Guérin and embodies the fruits of considerable researches.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the Revolution, which breathed a new vigour and a new spirit into the Armies of France, and launched them on the paths which were to lead to Marengo, to Austerlitz and to Jéna, should have been for the French Navy a season of disaster after disaster, culminating in the Nile and Trafalgar. The contrast moreover is accentuated when one reflects that the last campaigns on a considerable scale in which the French Army had taken part were those of Rossbach and Minden, while in the American War of 1778-1783, if the Navy had not actually succeeded in wresting from the British Navy the command of the seas, it had at any rate been nearer to success than ever before.

It is in the peculiar character of naval war and in the special qualities needed in it that the explanation of this fact is to be found. It is far harder to create a Fleet than to raise an Army, a seaman takes longer to train than a hussar or even an artilleryman. It is because a Navy employs machines as well as men that the untrained enthusiasm and courage of Revolutionary France failed to achieve at sea results commensurate with those it accomplished on land. The naval officer has to handle his ship as well as to fight her, and so neither the soldier, unused to the sea, however brave, nor the merchant-seaman, a skilful navigator but unaccustomed to discipline and unacquainted with tactics, could take the place of the trained naval officer, at once navigator and fighting man. The fiery, undisciplined spirit of the Revolution was out of its element at sea; there organisation and experience are the most essential of all things, and without them courage can do little. "Since his Majesty," wrote Villeneuve, when stung to action by Napoleon's reproaches, "thinks that nothing but audacity and resolve are needed to succeed in the naval officer's calling, I shall leave nothing to be desired" (Troude, iii. 390). In failing to appreciate what qualities are really needed in the Navy, Napoleon was only following in the steps of the Convention: Jean Bon-Saint-André had looked forward hopefully to the day when "disdaining skilful evolutions our seamen will think it more fitting and useful to try those boarding-actions in which the French were always conquerors" (Chevalier, ii. 49); and the only qualifications required for the command of a

ship of war had been certificates of patriotism and *civisme* from the "Society of Adorers of Liberty and Equality" of Toulon (Guérin, iii, 240).

The naval revival in France, begun by Choiseul by 1761 and continued by de Praslin (Minister of Marine 1766-1771), de Sartines (1774-1780), and de Castries (1780-1787), had resulted in raising the French Navy to a condition of great efficiency, when the outbreak of the Revolution brought a complete reorganisation in its train. Up to 1791 the officers of the French Navy had been almost exclusively drawn from the ranks of the nobility, especially from that of Brittany and Provence. In addition to this aristocratic corps, so-called *Rouges* from the colour of their breeches, there had existed for many years a subordinate class of officers, drawn from the merchant-service and other non-noble sources and known as *Bleus*, on whom had devolved an undue share of the drudgery of the service with a disproportionate quota of rewards. In 1786, owing partly to the deficiency in the lower ranks of officers shown to exist by the events of the American War (Chevalier, ii, 20), a complete reorganisation had taken place. The *Gardes de la Marine*, established in 1689 by Colbert, now became *élèves de la marine*, who, after six years of systematic training both practical and theoretical, took rank as *lieutenants de vaisseau*, nobles alone being eligible. At the same time the sons of privateer and merchant captains, of ship-owners and other non-noble persons, were admitted as "volontaires," being appointed *sous-lieutenants de vaisseau* after passing certain examinations and serving at sea for a specified time. Beyond this rank, however, they could not advance unless promoted for specially distinguished services.

Bent on attacking privilege wherever it was found, the Constituent Assembly abolished the exclusively noble character of the naval profession and opened its ranks to everybody. The schools at Alais and Vannes were done away with, *élèves* and *volontaires* disappeared. A competitive examination was held annually for youths of from 15 to 20, the successful candidates passing three years on ships of war as *aspirants* learning their duties. At the end of this time, however, they received no preference over any one else of from 18 to 30 years of age who had four years' experience at sea, and could pass the examination for the rank of *enseigne*. *Enseignes*, though all alike ranked by seniority, were of two classes, *entretenus*, those actually serving on ships of war, and *non-entretenus*, who returned to the merchant-service. Both classes were eligible up to the age of 40 to pass as lieutenants, but at 40 a man had to choose definitely between the Navy and the merchant-service. All lieutenants were "entretenus" and from among them captains were chosen, half by seniority, half by selection, though *enseignes non-entretenus* of over 40 years of age and with 8 years' sea-experience might be specially promoted captains for distinguished services. By practically identifying the junior ranks of the Navy and the Merchant-Marine, this system struck a deadly blow at the efficiency of the Navy. Officers who fluctuated in this fashion as inclination or interest dictated between the two services, could not devote themselves to the careful study of the naval profession. Malouet pleaded before the Assembly that, if distinctions could exist in the Army between the training of the artillery, cavalry, engineers and infantry, the Navy might without any injury to civic liberty and equality be permitted to have officers of its own (Chevalier, ii, p. 26). His entreaties proved vain. Blind to the special needs of the naval service, ignoring the necessity that the officers should devote themselves exclusively to it, the Constituent Assembly in its zeal for the abolition of privileges was undermining the foundations of the

efficiency of the Navy. Though the officers of the old Navy were not actually dismissed they soon found it impossible to retain their commissions. As nobles and as Royalists they could hardly regard the new conditions with anything but disfavour: their *esprit de corps* was outraged by the reorganisation, and the utter decay of discipline and the demoralisation of the whole service soon produced their natural effects. The sailors were contaminated by the prevailing spirit of lawlessness, mutiny followed mutiny. The failure of the executive to restore order or to check the spread of anarchy was quickly followed by the disappearance of the old corps of officers. In July 1791 three-fourths of them had quitted a service in which neither their honour nor their persons were any longer safe. By March 1792, out of an establishment of 170 captains there were but 42, and 390 lieutenants out of 750. Not only was the quantity deficient, but the quality had deteriorated sadly. "The meanest officer of the merchant-service," says Guérin (iii. 135), "pretended rashly that there was no difference between the management of a merchantman and a warship, between a flotilla of fishing-boats and a naval armament, and that the man fit to command one was fit to command the other. No account was taken of instruction and theory; practice in handling warships, manœuvring and tactics were looked upon as prejudices and abuses. Every master of a fishing smack, nay, every seaman considered himself fit to be an admiral." Before long the dearth of officers was so great that the Legislative Assembly had to lower the qualifications for commissions in the hope of thereby filling the ranks, and the Convention had to go still further. The period of service as captain qualifying for flag-rank was reduced to one year, all lieutenants were eligible for post-rank, as were also merchant-captains of five years' experience. Finally in July, 1793, the Convention directed that all vacancies should be filled without regard to the existing laws (Troude, ii. 260). All that was needed was a certificate of *civisme* from the local Republican clubs, and the Society *Les adoreteurs de la Liberté et de L'Égalité* of Toulon drew up lists of men who, as being "excellent patriots," were therefore eminently fitted for the command of warships. Was it surprising that Villaret-Joyeuse should have written to the Minister of Marine in January 1793, "I cannot hide from you, and the representatives of the people will not conceal from the Committee of Public Safety, that we have a set of captains who do not even attain to mediocrity"? (Chevalier, ii. 168.) From the fact that of the three French admirals on June 1st, 1794, two had been lieutenants in 1791 and one a sub-lieutenant, one may form some idea of the breach in continuity between the Navy of the American War and that of the Revolution. Of the captains three had been lieutenants in 1791, eleven sub-lieutenants (*i.e.*, *Bleus*), nine in the merchant-service, one a boatswain and one an ordinary sailor (Guérin, iii. 411). The reports of the courts-martial held after that action (*cf.* Chevalier, ii. 153-164) are an instructive commentary on the possibility of substituting mere patriotism and courage for experience and skill, and on the wisdom of replacing a corps of well-trained professional officers by merchant-captains and ordinary sailors. Courage indeed was never wanting in the French Navy, but courage and devotion, unsupported by experience, formed a poor equipment with which to face men trained in the schools of Jervis and Nelson.

The men were on a level with the officers. In the American War France had owed much to possessing a highly efficient corps of trained gunners, the *bombardiers marins*. In the reorganisation of 1786 this force had become the *canonniers matelots* (seamen gunners), composed of nine

divisions amounting in all to 5,400 men, recruited by voluntary enlistment and kept on a permanent footing during peace (Loir, p. 150). But despite the great services and the efficiency of this corps, it was disbanded by the Constituent Assembly, and for it was substituted a corps of marine artillery commanded by artillery officers, a step which could not but lead to friction with the naval officers. "One would have thought," says Chevalier, "that there was nothing left to be done towards ruining the Navy after the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies had had their way. It was reserved for the Convention to go yet further" (p. 125). In the existence of regiments of marine artillery and infantry Jean Bon-Saint-André discovered a new and scandalous abuse. That there should be troops enjoying the exclusive privilege of defending the Republic at sea appeared to him monstrous. It was the right of every patriot. "Are we not all," he asked, "called upon to fight for liberty? Why should not the victors of Landau and Toulon go on board our fleets to display their courage to Pitt and to lower the flag of George?" (Chevalier, ii. 126.). Accordingly the marines disappeared, and it was decided that detachments of National Guards should be embarked in their place to whom should be entrusted the service of the artillery. "Thus," says Chevalier (ii. 126), "a marine-artilleryman, a soldier trained in the difficult art of naval gunnery and specially told off to this service, became a sort of aristocrat." Henceforward perfect equality in serving at sea prevailed among all patriots, greatly to the advantage of the enemies of the Republic (*cf.* Jurien de la Gravière, i. p. 138).

The disbanding of the marines, practically the only permanent part of the naval rank and file, and the force on whom, as in the English Navy, the maintenance of discipline principally depended, did for the lower ranks what the reorganisation and emigration had done for the officers. "The war-navy," says Loir (p. 148), "had no sailors of its own, in case of need it borrowed them from the merchant-marine." Thus, although under the system of conscription introduced by Colbert in 1665, and somewhat modified by de Sartines in 1784, the sailor had always been at the beck and call of the State, he was not in permanent service. Ill-paid and that irregularly, ill-lodged and ill-fed, he was always liable to be called out for service and could never feel himself his own master. The oppressiveness and unfairness of the system was great, discipline was harsh, the service unhealthy and unpopular. What wonder if desertion was frequent and that the discipline of the crews disappeared completely under the influences of the Revolution?

In the last months of the year 1789 the disorder which had invaded every other branch of the public service penetrated on board the fleet. At the chief naval ports serious outbreaks occurred. On the one hand, the workmen at the arsenals, ill-paid and in arrears, provided a fruitful source of riot and sedition, while, on the other, the local civil authorities showed themselves only too ready to encourage any disobedience to the naval officers and to interfere in the affairs of the fleet. The naval officers, finding themselves unsupported by the central government, could do little to stem the rising tide of mutiny: unable to resist they had to make concessions which only added fuel to the flames of disorder. At Toulon the mob espoused the cause of two petty officers dismissed their ship for inciting the crews to mutiny: d'Albret de Rions, after vainly attempting to conciliate the rioters, was dragged off to prison, the marines being powerless to save him, and the National Guard, which, contrary to all rules, was largely recruited from the dockyard labourers, looked on favourably at the proceedings of the mob. The National Assembly investigated the affair, but its fatuous verdict is an

eloquent testimony to the disappearance of discipline. "The National Assembly, taking a favourable view of the motives which actuated M. d'Albret de Rions, the other naval officers involved, the municipal officers and the National Guards of Toulon, declares that there is no occasion to blame any one" (*Moniteur*, Jan. 17th, 1790). The successor of de Rions, M. de Glandèves, was also attacked by the mob, seized and thrown into prison, for which he could obtain no redress from the Assembly. At Brest, in Sept. 1790, de Rions found himself involved in fresh disturbances, even more formidable from the fact that they were the work of the crews themselves and not—as those at Toulon had been—of the dockyardmen and the mob. An attempt to punish a sailor of the *Léopard* for insulting one of the *Patriote's* officers roused the crew of the *Patriote* to take up the sailor's cause, the mutiny spread through the whole squadron and was only appeased by the intervention of the Society of Friends of the Constitution and of some commissioners from the National Assembly. In the following years things grew steadily worse; the last vestiges of discipline vanished: at Toulon, in Sept. 1792, Rear-Admiral de Flotte was murdered by some convicts employed in the dockyard, under the eyes of a detachment of marines who did not stir to save him, nor was he the only officer murdered. The seamen refused to obey orders and presumed to direct the movements of the fleet. In 1797 the English mutineers at Spithead declared themselves ready to return to duty should the enemy's fleet put to sea; but in May, 1793, it was only by the aid of the "Friends of Liberty and Equality" that the Brest fleet could be induced to put to sea at all, and Morard de Galle found himself powerless to prevent a return to Brest when the news of the surrender of Toulon to the English filled the crews with apprehensions for the security of Brest. But the most remarkable incident of all was the demand of the crew of the *Éole* whose captain had been seized by the Assembly of Cap Français in San Domingo, that he should be turned over to them, "since they alone had the right to take cognisance of and pronounce verdict on his behaviour" (Guérin, iii. 195).

Not until the Committee of Public Safety succeeded in restoring some degree of order to the administration, and in imparting vigour and decision into the executive, was discipline restored, and the excesses of revolutionary equality and liberty curtailed. But by that time anarchy had done its work, the old Navy of France was a thing of the past, and the history of the war is a long record of the inefficiency of the makeshift crews which had replaced it. Seamanship they had none: the simplest manœuvres were beyond them. Even in good weather accidents were numerous. In June, 1793, Morard de Galle wrote, "I have sailed in the most numerous squadrons, but never in a year did I see so many collisions as in the month this squadron has been together." On the celebrated "winter-cruise" of the Brest fleet in December, 1794, and Jan. 1795, no less than five ships perished and three others were within an ace of sharing their fate (Chevalier, ii. 166-167). Gunnery was on a par with seamanship. There was hardly a single ship action between vessels of equal force in which the French loss did not far exceed the English. The *Alexander*, a British 74, which was taken by a squadron of four ships of the line in Nov. 1794, inflicted as heavy a loss on each of her three principal opponents as she herself suffered. The frigate *Phæbe* of 44 guns only lost 2 killed and 12 wounded in taking the *Africaine* of the same force, which lost no fewer than 127 killed and 176 wounded (Chevalier, iii. 48). In the action off Isle Groix (June 23rd, 1795) the eight British vessels engaged had 144 killed and wounded, the nine French vessels which

escaped had 220 between them, the three which were taken having respectively 130, 220 and 320. At the Nile the British had 220 killed and 680 wounded, the French—excluding the *Orient* which blew up with nearly all hands—980 killed and 1,500 wounded. The French officers themselves were among the first to admit the inferiority of their gunnery. "You need trained gunners to serve guns at sea," wrote Admiral Kerguelen; "the experience of the late actions should teach you that our gunners are inferior to those of the enemy" (Jurien de la Gravière, i. p. 138). Something may perhaps be attributed to the French preference for firing at the masts so as to disable the enemy and permit their fleet to withdraw at leisure, and the loss of the *Africaine* elicited from Bonaparte a letter to the Minister of Marine, bidding him "call the attention of officers to the inconvenience of always trying to dismast, and point out the truth of the principle that, under all circumstances, one should do as much harm to the enemy as possible" (Chevalier, iii. 49).

The ships of the French Navy did not escape the fate of the crews. The dockyardmen were too much occupied with politics and with riots to attend to the needs of the fleet, and in the hands of incompetent officers and inefficient crews the ships rapidly deteriorated. Not the least of the mistakes of the Legislative Assembly was to deprive the naval officers of all control of the management of the dockyards, in which civilians replaced them (Guérin, iii. 154). But even had the administration been good and the crews capable, they would have found the task of keeping the ships efficient very difficult. France was even more dependent than was Great Britain on foreign naval stores (Loir, p. 210), and the British control of the seas soon cut her off from her sources of supply. Once the stock of spare stores was exhausted it could not be replenished, for the dockyards could not create out of nothing the hemp, timber, pitch and other necessary materials. By Jan. 1799 French commerce had vanished off the seas (*Moniteur*, An. VII. 478); and by classing "naval stores" as contraband of war, England prevented neutrals from filling the empty storehouses of Brest and Toulon. Thus when the Brest fleet put to sea for its "winter cruise" in December, 1794, many ships had not repaired the injuries received on June 1st (Chevalier, ii. 165); and when Villaret-Joyeuse put to sea in June, 1795, out of the twenty or thirty ships of the line in the Biscay ports only twelve could take the sea, and these were in bad condition and short of men (Chevalier, ii. 201). The very strategy which partly from necessity, partly from choice, the French had adopted, tended still further to reduce the efficiency of their Navy. No longer risking any fleet actions, they lay snugly in port until bad weather should drive the English away from blockading the ports and permit them to slip out unperceived. It was the traditional French naval policy of "ulterior objects," which sought to gain its ends by evasion rather than as the result of victory in a pitched battle; which failed to see that the truest way to evade the enemy is to place one's self alongside him and render him incapable of further mischief. Such a policy could not but have a fatal effect on the *morale* of those who adopt it: crews trained to avoid battle cannot face it, when it can be put off no longer, with the same confidence as those who have been taught to seek it above all things. Further, by abandoning the seas to their enemies, the French were cutting themselves off from the only drill-ground where a Navy can be trained and where a collection of individual ships can be welded together into the harmonious whole which deserves to be called a "fleet."

As to the strength of the French Navy statistics differ. Louis XVI. in

1786 had fixed the establishment at 81 ships of the line (Loir, p. 1); but in 1788 financial reasons had caused the proportion maintained in readiness for sea to be fixed at seven-ninths. For 1789 Loir (p. 56) gives 78 ships of the line as available, Guérin (iii. 65) gives 81. For 1792 Guérin gives 74 ships, but in the detailed list given by James (vol. i. appendix 3), which is on the whole to be accepted, there appear eight three-deckers, ten 80-gun ships and sixty-four 74's, a total of 82, of which two are described as "unserviceable," and seven old vessels, which had served under Suffren and de Grasse, were soon afterwards cut down and employed on other services, leaving serviceable 73 ships in all. At the same time England had 115 ships of the line: (Loir (p. 4) says 118, Guérin (iii. 65) 135, but James' figures are based on exhaustive research and can be relied upon); Spain had 76, of which 56 were in good condition; Holland 49, many of which were lighter and smaller than those of other countries; Denmark 38; Portugal 6, and Naples 4. As a rule the French ships were larger and more heavily armed than English vessels of the same nominal strength; indeed a French "80" fired a greater weight of metal than an English "98," and James calculates that in aggregate weight of broadside (the fairest method of calculation) England had only a superiority of 6 to 5, 89,000 lb. as against the French 74,000 lb.

To trace the strength of the French Navy during the war is very difficult, as with each change of government the names of the ships were altered to reflect the political complexion of the party in power. Thus the overthrow of the Monarchy saw the *Bretagne* become the *Révolutionnaire* and the *Auguste* the *Jacobin*. The fine three-decker *États de Bourgogne* was the *Côte d'Or* in 1793, the *Montagne* in 1794, the *Peuple* in 1795, and finally became the *Océan* in 1796. The *Dauphin Royal*, after figuring for a period as the *Sans-Culottes*, perished at the Nile as the *Orient*. The *Barras*, launched in 1794, was successively the *Pégase* and the *Hoche*. The *Languedoc* figured as *Anti-fédéraliste* and *Victoire*. A name appears in one year and is then heard no more: the same ship makes the next campaign under a new title. Thus of the 73 serviceable ships of 1793, forty-two (including three three-deckers, seven 80's and thirty-two 74's) had been lost before the Peace of Amiens, sixteen reappear after the outbreak of hostilities in 1803, and fifteen (two 80's and thirteen 74's) cannot be traced. During these years the names of thirty-two ships not mentioned in 1793 appear; four of them were taken from England, two were handed over by Spain, twelve at least seem to have been new ships. Whether the remainder are identical with some of the fifteen "missing" ships of the list of 1793 is a matter of conjecture, but it is probable that at least some, if not all, are so. Nine of these thirty-two were lost before 1801, eleven reappear in 1803, leaving twelve unaccounted for.

Thus the Revolution, by destroying the organisation, traditions and *esprit de corps* of the old Royal Navy of France, rendered it inevitable that in the struggle for the mastery of the seas France should be worsted. The emigration of the old officers, the disbanding of the seamen-gunners, the deterioration of the ships, due to the impossibility of obtaining naval stores in the face of the vigilant British cruisers, the inevitable loss of prestige and spirit involved in the mistaken policy of evasion and skulking in harbour, form a partial explanation of the paradoxical difference in the effects of the Revolution on the French Army and Navy. But in justice to the British Navy one must not exaggerate or unduly insist upon the deterioration of the French. In the words of Captain Mahan: "The elder Pitt had not to contend with such

a Navy as confronted his son at the outbreak of the French Revolution. The French Navy had received great and judicious care throughout the reign of Louis XVI. ; it had a large and splendid body of ships in 1793, and, although its efficiency was fatally affected by the legislation of the National Assembly and by the emigrations, it was still an imposing force" (ii. 387). It was because the Navy and the admirals of England were enemies of a very different order to those whom the French Army had to face, that the Republic's record at sea was one of continued disasters: and it was only because the English Navy was well led, and was thoroughly efficient, that it was capable of seizing the opportunities which the demoralisation of its enemy presented to it.

LA VENDÉE

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AUTHORITIES : Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Vendée par le Général Turreau, 2^{me} édition (Berville et Barrière), Paris, 1824 ; Mémoires sur la Vendée comprenant les mémoires inédits d'un ancien administrateur des Armées Républicaines, et ceux de Mme de Sapinaud (Berville et Barrière), Paris, 1823 ; Mémoires de Mme de la Rochejacquelin, 5^{me} édition (Berville et Barrière), Paris, 1821 ; Guerres de la Vendée et des Chouans contre la République Française (Baudouin frères), Paris, 1824 ; Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la guerre de la Vendée par M. le Comte de . . . , Paris, 1806.

ALTHOUGH the romantic interest of the insurrection in La Vendée has made it one of the most famous passages in the history of the French Revolution, it is owing to this atmosphere of romance that the real truth as to the rising has been obscured by semi-legendary versions of the episode. It is not uncommon, for example, to find the peasants represented as having been actuated merely by a desire to avenge their murdered King, a view which lays an undue stress upon one—and that not the most important—of the various motives for the insurrection.

It does not, indeed, appear that in the year 1789 the peasants of La Vendée were distinguished from those of other provinces by any devoted attachment to the existing order of things, or by any special adherence to monarchical and feudal principles. Though they were not, as to some extent the Alsatian peasants were,¹ in a condition of serfdom, and though the proportion of residents among the nobles of the province was somewhat larger than was general, the *Noblesse* of La Vendée did include many absentees and frequenters of the Court, who communicated with their tenants merely through agents and bailiffs. Thus, while there was in 1789 nothing of the nature of general *Jacquerie* in the district, there do seem to have been troubles, especially one rising against the feudal "agents" at Maulévrier (Mémoires pour servir pour l'histoire de La Vendée, i. 39). Still, one may say that in La Vendée there was less antagonism between nobles and peasants than there was in provinces where the nobles were richer and more closely connected with the Court. The *Vendéen* nobles were as a rule very poor, and many lived on their own estates all the year, spending their time mainly in hunting and shooting, diversions in which the peasantry to some extent shared. But the nobles had little influence over the peasants, and though after 1789 they seem to have tried to ingratiate themselves with them (Mém. i. 34), it was not to the *seigneur* but to the *curé* that the peasant turned for guidance at every juncture.

Ignorant, knowing little and caring little as to what happened outside their own province (Martin, "France depuis 1789," i. 442), credulous and

intensely superstitious, the peasants of La Vendée followed their priests with an obedience as unquestioning as that which their ancestors, the Veneti, had paid to the Druids. "The nobles," says one writer, "had only threats and menaces with which to influence the peasantry, the priests had at their disposal the keys of Heaven and Hell" (Mém. i. 32). In the sixteenth century, when Calvinism had found many adherents among the clergy of Lower Poitou, the peasantry had followed their pastors against the forces of Catholicism as readily and as unthinkingly as more than two centuries later they charged up to the muzzles of Republican cannon in the cause of that same Catholic faith. "A Christian people," Montaigne has called them, "having churches and altars, but at bottom so simple that of the religion which they observe so scrupulously they do not understand a single word." Superstition, indeed, rather than devotion was their dominant characteristic, and one can observe in their ideas and practices no slight traces of the pagan faith and rites of their ancestors. Though the fertility of the country enabled it to support a somewhat unusually dense population, the district was purely agricultural; manufactures, except for home consumption, hardly existed, the towns were few in number, small and far apart, and took but a small share in an insurrection from which they were in the end the heaviest sufferers. Such, indeed, was the antagonism between the townfolk and the peasants that Mme de Sapinaud relates (Mémoires de Mme de Sapinaud, p. 81) that some country youths who had come in to Chollet to draw their lots in the *réquisition* were attacked and ill-treated by the citizens.

The execution of Louis XVI. does not appear to have been the real motive which induced the peasants to take arms against the Republic. Such hopes as the Revolution may have aroused within them had been disappointed; it had not benefited them very much, it certainly had not produced the millennium, but it had brought with it the Civil Constitution of the Clergy against which their priests never ceased to inveigh. As early as April 1791, there had been disturbances at La Roche-sur-Yon, and Gallais and Genonné, the commissioners sent down to hold an inquiry, reported to the National Assembly that they were caused by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, before which La Vendée had been quiet (Mém. i. 45). During the next two years the priests kept on stirring up their flocks against the "atheistical" government, forbade them to recognise the "constitutional" clergy and put every possible obstacle in the path of these backsliding *curés*. Thus, though when once the standard of insurrection had been raised Royalists and reactionaries flocked to it in numbers which made the Royalist the preponderating element, the origin of the insurrection was not Royalist, but religious. "We do not care about the nobles," a peasant on guard over the prisoners at Chollet admitted to one of his captives, the President of the local tribunal, "we do not ask for a King, but we do want our good priests and you do not love them" (Mém. i. 84). Carefully watched as they were by the local Republicans, the nobles had taken no part in organising the revolt; that was the work of the priests (Mém. i. 39), but in the spring of '93 they hastened to put themselves at the head of the movement and to make the restoration of the Monarchy an object equal in importance to the liberation of the Church.

It is hardly an exaggeration to call La Vendée a district which affords almost unparalleled facilities for guerilla warfare and for a protracted popular revolt. Fertile enough to support a large population, it combines in striking fashion the fens, forests and mountains, which are the usual homes of long and desperate resistance to superior forces. The *Vendéens*, no less than the

Scottish Highlanders or such semi-legendary heroes as Robin Hood and Hereward the Wake, owed much to the character of the country in which it was their lot to fight: it was—to quote Turreau's words (p. 169)—“very much cut up, although there are no large rivers, very uneven, although there are no mountains, very much wooded, although there are no forests.” Bounded on the North by the Loire and on the West by the Bay of Biscay, La Vendée included those portions of Brittany and Anjou which lie to the South of the Loire, as well as the North and North-Western districts of Poitou. To East and South its limits are harder to fix; a line drawn from Saumur to Niort through Thouars might be taken as its Eastern boundary, one following the course of the Sèvre Niortaise from Niort to Le Pertuis Breton as the Southern: the whole area being, roughly speaking, rather smaller than Yorkshire.

The principal watershed of the country is formed by a cluster of hills in the S.E. around Les Herbiers and Fontenay, from which one range branches off N.E. towards the Loire, forming a natural frontier in that direction, while another runs almost due from S.E. to N.W. along the course of the Sèvre Nantaise. This river, which divides the country into the two districts of Upper and Lower Vendée is one of the several small streams which flow from these hills, some Northward to the Loire, some Westward to the Atlantic. Another division, based on the natural features, distinguished the hilly and well-wooded “Bocage” in the S.E. from the “Plaine,” otherwise called “Loroux” (Turreau, p. 161), along the left bank of the Loire, and this again from the marshy district along the coast, called the “Marais,” which is much intersected by canals and streams. In addition to these natural difficulties of swamp, stream, hill and wood, the country was cut up in every direction by stout banks, thick hedges and stone walls, often as much as five feet in height, to prevent the cattle (cattle-rearing was one of the chief occupations of the inhabitants) from straying on to the wrong lands. The roads were few and bad in winter, often indeed impassable quagmires, while the high-ways were so much shut in by hedges as to afford splendid shelter for ambushes (Turreau, p. 169). “A deep and obscure labyrinth in which one can only grope one's way” Kléber called it (Mém. i. 18), and it was indeed admirably calculated to assist nimble irregulars to defy their enemies. In its recesses cavalry were almost useless and artillery a hindrance: cohesion was impossible and the rigid tactics of the parade-ground a positive peril. The *Vendéens* had the same advantages over the Republicans as the Afridis of the North-Western Frontier enjoy against their British enemies, and they were more fortunate inasmuch as most of their opponents hardly merited the name of “soldiers”.

The tactics of the *Vendéens* were admirably adapted to make the most of the conditions under which they fought. By careful skirmishing they felt the pulse of their adversaries, attacking or withdrawing as circumstances dictated. The best shots—and there were among them poachers, smugglers and gamekeepers in plenty—formed the wings which were thrust forward, like the “horns” of a Zulu “impi,” to get in touch with the enemy; the main body, the “chest” of the army, being “refused,” so that it need not be committed to a pitched battle, should the skirmishers find the enemy too strong to be attacked with a reasonable prospect of success. Thus, while to the Republicans' defeat usually spelt complete disaster, loss of guns, muskets and ammunition, a victory meant little more than the occupation of the field of battle from which their slippery adversaries had retired. The skirmishers, so skilful and so agile that, as Turreau describes, they could load when on the move, would gather on their enemy's flanks, threaten his

rear and shake his confidence by their well-sustained and well-directed fire, which paved the way for the headlong charge of the main body; while, like all irregulars, the *Vendéens* had no prestige to lose, no organisation to be upset, no cohesion and no discipline to be ruined by a retreat, however precipitous.

The match which fired the train of insurrection was the law of Feb. 23rd, 1793, which ordered all unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 40 to hold themselves in readiness to be called out for service to complete the levy of 300,000 men to repel the threatened Austro-Prussian attack. Military service had never been popular with the *Vendéens*, and now, abetted and incited by the priests, they took arms against their country to avoid having to take arms to defend her frontiers. On March 14th several thousand peasants, with Barbotin, a priest, and Stofflet, a peasant, at their head, came rushing into Chollet and made themselves masters of the town. All over the district simultaneous risings took place according to a preconceived plan. The authority of the Republic was swept away, little resistance was offered, and, where it was, it only served to enrage the peasants whose reply took the form of ill-treating and even massacring their prisoners.

That the insurrection would be opened by *Vendéen* successes might have been prophesied by any one acquainted with the quality of the forces brought against them. The outbreak found the West of France all but denuded of regular troops, for the danger on the Eastern frontier had withdrawn all the effective forces to defend the Moselle and the Rhine. Composed for the most part of *hommes de la réquisition*, raw levies equally devoid of discipline, zeal and experience, the isolated columns which entered La Vendée about the middle of April met with almost uniform disaster. In reply to the frantic appeals of the defeated Republicans, reinforcements from the Armies of the North and of the Ardennes were dispatched to Orléans to form the nucleus of a fresh army of 10,000 men, but before this corps could be organised the *Vendéens* had taken the offensive. Thouars (May 5th), Parthenay and Fontenay (30th) fell into their power one after another; and then, driving before them a division posted at Doué to cover Saumur, they fell upon that town, drove the garrison out headlong with great loss (June 9th) and thus possessed themselves of an access to the right bank of the Loire. The utmost consternation prevailed in all the country round. Angers, Tours, Niort and La Rochelle all trembled at the prospect of receiving the next attack. It was indeed suggested that the insurgents should advance on Paris, but it was to the Westward that they turned. By Angers and Ancenis they moved to Nantes, expecting the co-operation of Charette and the insurgents from Lower Vendée in an attack on that town. It was the critical moment of the rising. Had Nantes fallen, in all probability the insurrection would have spread all over Brittany, and Brest, the headquarters of the Atlantic fleet of France, would have been cut off from Paris and exposed to an English attack. But though the garrison was outnumbered by nearly four to one, though the hastily improvised defences were of the weakest, they proved sufficient. The brave defence of the passage of the Erdre at Nort retarded the advance of the insurgents and prevented proper co-operation between Cathelineau and Charette: the attack, being delayed till broad daylight, was repulsed with the loss of Cathelineau and many others, and the insurgents were forced to retire (June 28th, 29th).

Thus, while the *Vendéens* had shown themselves capable of defending their own country, they had failed to press their successes any further. Between achieving isolated successes of considerable importance and the

sustained conduct of a protracted campaign there is a great gulf, which it is hard for the bravest army of mere irregulars to cross. And in the case of the *Vendéens* it must be admitted that their successes were in large measure due to the nature of their country, an advantage upon which they could no longer count when they issued out to meet the enemy on ground more of his own choosing. Moreover, the petty quarrels and jealousies of their leaders frittered away their strength, and the inactivity which resulted allowed the Republican commander Biron to devote his undisturbed energies to the reorganisation of his troops, a difficult task, which was not made more easy by the presence (in the double capacity of spies on the generals and of amateur strategists) of Representatives of the Convention and of the Committee of Public Safety. Not only did these gentlemen interfere with every detail (Mém. i. 311), and interpose between the commander and his subordinates, but they even gave orders on their own initiative (Mém. i. 132), so that their presence was a powerful auxiliary on the side of the insurgents (cf. Biron's dispatches, June, 1793, Mém. i. 282). When at length Biron so far succeeded in restoring the discipline of his demoralised troops as to venture on renewing the attack (July), the rashness of Westermann and the failure of the other columns to act in concert only resulted in fresh disasters.

But the *Vendéens* were in no condition to improve their victory, the necessity of carrying on the usual autumn agricultural work drew off large numbers of men and left d'Elbée too weak to take the offensive. Biron's failure caused him to be superseded in favour of a new general, Rossignol (July 27th), and towards the end of August the Republicans were reinforced by the arrival at Nantes of the garrisons of Mainz and Valenciennes, which had capitulated (July), on parole not to serve against the Allies for a year, but which were available for service in La Vendée. At the beginning of September a joint advance was made from Nantes, Saumur, Fontenay and Luçon. But the defeat of Beysser at Montaigu (Sept. 18th) neutralised the earlier successes of the troops from Mainz, the rout of two of Rossignol's divisions at Coron (18th) and Saint-Lambert (19th) threw away the fruits of Turreau's success at Doué and of the repulse of the *Vendéen* leader Lescure from Thouars (14th) and once again the attempt was given up.

After yet another reorganisation and change of generals, L'Échelle being the new commander of the united Armies of Nantes and Saumur, in October a fresh move was made, and this time the concentration was carried out successfully. The ex-garrison of Mainz moved by Montaigu and Mortagne (Oct. 15th) on Chollet, pushing the *Vendéens* before it; at Tiffauge it was joined by a division from Luçon, at Chollet (17th) by columns from Doué, Thouars and La Chataignerie, which had united at Bressuire under Chalbos and had repulsed a *Vendéen* attack (Oct. 11th). On the 18th over 40,000 *Vendéens* hurled themselves in desperation on the united forces of the Republic near the little town of Chollet. For a time the issue was in doubt, but Kléber rallied his wavering left, Marceau with the centre beat off a dangerous attack and the fall of d'Elbée and de Bonchamps decided the day in favour of the Republicans.

But though Barère now said in the Convention " nous pouvons dire qu'il n'existe plus de Vendée " (Mém. ii. 287) the war was not over yet. Many of the peasants dispersed to their homes, but over 20,000 men, including all the non-*Vendéens*, crossed the Loire at Saint-Florent, and marched northward on Laval. So unutterly unexpected was this desperate stroke that no preparations had been made to dispute their passage, and it was some few days before a pursuit was begun, mistakes which lost the fruits of the victory of

Chollet. Even then L'Échelle's blunder in making the whole army advance along one road when two were available resulted in a sharp check for the Republicans at Entrames (Oct. 27th), and they fell back behind the Oudon for a rest and the usual "reorganisation." The *Vendéens*, hampered by the great train of baggage and non-combatants which accompanied their march, moved forward by Mayenne (Nov. 1st), Dol, Fougères and Avranches (12th) to Granville, which they attacked (Nov. 13th), hoping by taking it to place themselves in easy communication with their English well-wishers in the Channel Islands. But once again, as at Nantes, the fortifications, weak as they were, proved sufficient to defy them, and the attack was repulsed with heavy loss. It was a fatal blow to their hopes, but without a siege train or scaling ladders the attempt was bound to fail. The *Vendéens* had made a bad mistake in attempting Granville; they would have done better to move by Saint-Brieuc and Dinan into Lower Brittany, where they would have found a friendly population, a country well-adapted for defence and within easy reach of England; even if they had pushed on into the Cotentin, taken Cherbourg in rear where it had no fortifications, and held the neck of the peninsula against their pursuers (*cf.* report of d'Obenheim, *Mémoires*, ii. 347), they might have resisted till aid from England arrived. But the nearness of Granville to the Channel Islands was a fatal attraction.

Meanwhile the eloquence of Jean Bon-Saint-André, who had been sent to "electrify" the Army of the West, and the possibly more effective efforts of Marceau and Kléber had so far restored the discipline and the tone of that force that preparations were made to block the retreat of the insurgents towards La Vendée by occupying Pontorson. Yet the galvanising process had not instilled enough courage into Tribout's division to enable it to stand firm against the *Vendéen* rush; it was driven headlong from its post, and the *Vendéens* made their way to Dol (Nov. 18th). Another attempt to check them ended in another reverse, owing to Westermann's impetuosity and neglect of orders, which resulted in the defeat of his own division and left that of Marceau unsupported so that it also was beaten back. In great confusion the Republicans fell back on Rennes, leaving the way to the Loire open to the insurgents. But these were in too bad a plight to profit by the discomfiture of their adversaries; "a wild boar wounded to the death, and only able to injure the clumsy hunters who cross his path" one writer calls them (*Mém.* ii. 351): the sufferings and privations of their march were terrible, disease was raging among them, many perished of cold and hunger (*cf.* *Mém.* ii. 338-341); an attempt on Angers (Dec. 3rd) was repulsed with loss and at Le Mans (12th) they were overtaken by Marceau, the commander for the time being of the ever-reorganised Army of the West, which had been reinforced by 10,000 men from that of the Western Pyrenees. Once again they had to resume their march with the Republicans pressing close upon them. Stofflet and La Rochejaquelin managed to cross the Loire on the 16th, but Marceau's prompt pursuit forced the main body to continue its flight westward, where it hoped to find help and succour in the disaffected district of Morbihan. But they never reached the Vilaine, for, on Dec. 22nd, Marceau and Kléber overtook them at Savenay and a desperate battle ended in the annihilation of the *Vendéen* army. Only a few escaped, many perished in trying to cross the Loire, the rest fell either on the battlefield or at the hands of the brutal Carrier.

In La Vendée itself matters had somewhat quieted down since the main body of the insurgents had crossed the Loire: Charette was still carrying on operations in Lower Vendée, but, had a general amnesty been issued, the

peasants in all probability would have submitted (Mém. ii. 484, *cf.* iii. 28, 45). As it was, the massacres perpetrated by Carrier and the barbarous system adopted by Turreau, the new commander in La Vendée, goaded the peasants to desperation, and La Rochejaquelin, Stofflet and Charette found themselves once more at the head of a considerable force (Feb. and March, 1794). The system of wholesale slaughter and destruction inaugurated by Turreau surpassed in its brutality and stringency even the ferocious decree of Aug. 1st, 1793 (*cf.* Mém. iii. 49). Columns swept the country in all directions with fire and sword giving no quarter, sparing neither people, animals, crops, nor houses (*cf.* Aulard, x. 384). But this policy, for which Turreau must be held responsible, despite his efforts to pose as the "agent passif des volontés du corps législatif" (*cf.* Mém. iii. 38-41), proved almost as futile as it was brutal. The *Vendéens* took arms once more and carried on a guerilla warfare with no little success, answering massacre with massacre, outrages with outrages. Turreau, his boasted successes and his brutality notwithstanding, was forced to confess that the insurrection was not over yet (Mém. iii. 111); and his failure to prevent the escape of Charette drew down on him a savage rebuke from the Committee of Public Safety (Aulard, Recueil, xi. 75). The Republican troops had suffered greatly from the hardships of the winter campaign: they were without shoes, uniforms or proper equipment: their pay was in arrears, their discipline left much to be desired, no ambulances were forthcoming and the transport service was practically non-existent (Mém. iii. 137). Thus the war lingered on, while in Brittany the *Chouans*, gangs of smugglers, deserters, fugitive *Vendéens* and other "broken men," "brigands rather than political insurgents" (Martin, ii. 137), were daily becoming a more serious danger. Even after Turreau's recall, his successor Vimeux failed to bring the struggle to a close, and the fear that England would come to the aid of the insurgents and use La Vendée as she had used Toulon, finally led to the despatch of Hoche, the best general of the Republic, to take his place (Nov. 1794). Systematic and well-organised measures soon showed the insurgents that they had a capable man to deal with: a strong cordon of posts surrounded the disaffected districts, flying columns harassed the insurgents and kept them on the move, but severity was tempered with clemency and humanity, outrages were repressed and discipline maintained. The *Vendéens* were weary of the struggle and realised that they had little to gain by protracting their resistance. The Convention, now under the milder sway of the Thermidorians, had abandoned the system of Terror and was anxious to be rid of a tiresome and unprofitable affair, and so set its hands free for greater efforts on the Rhine and in Italy, and in February, 1795, a treaty was concluded at La Jaunaye, by which the *Vendéens*, in return for an amnesty and a guarantee of liberty of worship, undertook to lay down their arms and recognise the Republic.

But, though the insurrection was for the moment at an end, and though the *Vendéens*, tired of bloodshed and sick of the aimless struggle, had little wish to take up again the arms they had once laid down, it was different with the *Chouans*. Having suffered but slightly they took advantage of the peace to reorganise themselves and to prepare for a new encounter, only waiting for aid from England as the signal for a new rising. Negotiations between the Chouan leaders and the English Government were carried on through the Comte de Puisaye, a Royalist refugee, and in June 1795, a squadron, under Sir John Borlase Warren, escorted fifty transports carrying about 4,000 Frenchmen with arms and other supplies in large quantities to Quiberon Bay. Numbers of the *Chouans* flocked to join them, but the

arrest of Bois-Hardi and Cormatin (May) had deprived them of their chiefs; the leaders of the insurrection were at odds with one another; the Chouans fell out with the *Émigrés*; the French prisoners of war, who had somewhat unwisely been drafted into the expeditionary force, took every opportunity of deserting to the Republicans, and the inevitable disaster overtook the expedition on July 21st. Barely 1,000 *Émigrés* and 2,000 peasants succeeded in regaining the British ships, the rest were taken or killed to a man (*cf.* James, *Naval History of England*, i. 278-280).

Meanwhile Charette and Stofflet, encouraged by the news of the arrival of de Puisaye at Quiberon, had once more taken arms in La Vendée, though the enthusiasm of the peasants for the Royalist cause was but a shadow of its former self. Hoche, after his victory at Quiberon, moved into La Vendée with an overwhelming force, posted a cordon of troops all along the sea-coast, and thus prevented any communication between the insurgents and the 4,000 English and *Émigrés* under the Comte d'Artois, whom Warren's squadron had disembarked on the Ile de Yeu (October). Finding that nothing could be done the English withdrew their forces (Nov.), and Charette found himself left to his own resources. With Carnot at the Ministry of War Hoche had no longer any cause for complaint against the support he received: the Armies of Brest, of Cherbourg and of the West had by this time been united under his command, and his clemency and humanity were worth another Army by themselves. Stofflet's efforts to rouse the peasants ended in his capture and execution (Jan. 1796), and a few weeks later Charette shared his fate. "With him," says Martin (i. 444), "the war in La Vendée began, with him it ended." This remarkable man indeed is the most striking figure of the insurrection. Unscrupulous, cruel, passionate, pleasure-loving and violent, he resembles nothing so much as one of the buccaneers of the West Indies. As a partisan chief he can hardly have ever been equalled: time after time he evaded the net in which the Republicans sought to catch him. But if typical of the *Vendéens* in his adventures and his successes, he was no less typical of them in his failures. He was incapable of co-operating with his fellow insurgents, and, though the quarrel over some booty, which caused him to be absent when d'Elbée was beaten at Chollet, kept him out of the desperate move across the Loire and enabled him to maintain for another year his skilful resistance in the Marais, he was bound to fail sooner or later. Refusing all overtures towards an accommodation he perished as he had lived, the typical guerilla.

Were the memoirs and journals of the insurgents and their friends the only authorities available for the history of the *Vendéen* risings, one would be at a complete loss to understand how it was that the insurrection was not subdued in a couple of months: while if one had only the letters and reports of the Republican generals and commissioners to draw upon, it would not be the successes but the defeats of the *Vendéens* which would appear remarkable. Without effective support from abroad, without discipline, without organisation, without any definite plan, directed by leaders of little military skill and bitterly jealous of each other, the *Vendéens* could not have existed for so long a time had there been opposed to them an efficient force in capable hands. Their enthusiasm and their almost fanatical courage made them formidable opponents; but enthusiasm, religious zeal and the most daring courage did not save the Irish insurgents of 1798 from a complete and speedy overthrow at the hands of a somewhat indifferently force of English militia and yeomanry. The forces which the Republic opposed to the *Vendéens* were composed of raw recruits, as undisciplined and as

unskilled as themselves, but without their devotion and zeal. The columns which entered La Vendée in April, 1793, were mainly composed of so-called "volunteers," the *bataillons de réquisition*, middle-aged peasants dragged from the plough against their will to serve in a cause for which they had no enthusiasm, and far more anxious to get home to their farms and their families than to stand up to the fierce rush of the fanatical *Vendéens*. As a rule they fled at the first shot, divesting themselves of arms and equipment with all possible speed, and leaving the small party of *gendarmes* or regulars, who served as the nucleus of the column, to be overwhelmed and cut to pieces. Chalbos, it is true, on one occasion gained a slight success by posting his *gendarmes* in rear of his volunteers, who, finding flight impossible, of necessity took heart and beat off their assailants, but the expedient shows the quality of the average "volunteer." Berruyer wrote to the Minister of War to declare that without regular troops it would be impossible to bring the war to an end (Turreau, p. 169): the Army, he wrote, was without a staff, without supplies and without discipline, and the cavalry were of no use in "a country as bad as Corsica." In May, 1793, Biron, Chief of the Staff to Canclaux, complained that it was not National Guards, hastily raised and without experience or discipline that were wanted in La Vendée, but light infantry who would not let themselves be surprised and who would not give way to panic (Mém. i. 186). It was indeed not uncommon for a whole battalion to depart, declaring that their time was up and that they had served enough (Mém. i. 128).

Nor was there less jealousy and discord among the generals of the Republic than among the insurgent leaders, and the Republicans, moreover, were hampered by the inefficiency of the Ministry of War in Paris, and by the presence of the "Representatives," deputies and other interfering civilians. Sound Radical views rather than an acquaintance with tactics or strategy was the chief claim for selection to a command, and it was not according to success and failure but to party influence that rewards and punishments were meted out. The knife of the guillotine was permanently suspended over every Republican general's head, and it was not so much on those who deserved it as on those who had no influence with the Committee of Public Safety that it descended. Biron, who was guillotined, was a capable commander compared with the incapable Rossignol, whose influence in high places saved him. To the intrigues which paralysed the Republican armies and to the perpetual reorganisations which these underwent the insurgents owed no small share of their success, and even at the time of these successes the *Vendéens* met with several important checks when they left the rough country, which so much favoured them, and ventured to accept battle on ground where artillery could operate easily and where a cavalry charge was possible. Thus it was the Republican cavalry to whom is due the credit of the *Vendéen* repulse at Fontenay on May 16, 1793 (Mémoires of Mme de Sapinaud, p. 86), and the victory of Chollet was in a large measure their work (*ibid.*, p. 93). Against fortifications the *Vendéens* were almost uniformly unsuccessful: at Nantes, at Angers and at Granville they failed before the weakest of defences; and Les Sables d'Olonne, though often cut off, defied the insurgents of the Marais throughout the war. But if sieges and pitched battles on level country were foreign to their genius, in guerilla warfare, in surprises and in ambushes they had few superiors: in such encounters they could make the best of their agility and their local knowledge, and it was in the sudden swoop down upon some column hampered by a convoy and harassed by sharpshooters, throughout a long march, almost to the breaking

point, that the dash and reckless zeal of the *Vendéens* was most terrible. In the tactics of the Napoleonic era one sees a growing tendency to break away from the merely mechanical rigidity into which the traditions of Frederick the Great's system of drill had degenerated, some movement towards making the light-infantry man the ideal soldier. Would it be fanciful to trace in the clouds of skirmishers, which paved the way for the attack of Napoleon's massive columns, the lessons which the *Vendéens* may have taught to Marceau and Kléber? Thus the *Vendéen* on his native heath had an advantage even over the trained soldier, and his opponents had neither that superiority in weapons, nor—as regards the greater part of them—in discipline, on which the regular can usually rely to give him victory over superior numbers of irregulars. Moreover, they were generally handled in a miserable fashion; of the Republican generals, only two, Marceau and Kléber, can be said to have acquitted themselves with credit, and they were hampered by being in subordinate positions. Want of co-operation was the most striking feature of the Republican operations, due sometimes to mere carelessness and slovenliness, but at times rising to criminal negligence: every new general started with an infallible scheme which must reduce the rebels to subjection in a few weeks, but every new plan came to hopeless grief owing to insubordination and indiscipline, not only in the non-commissioned but even in the commissioned ranks. Want of organisation, especially in the supply departments, is not to be wondered at, in the disorganised condition of all the departments of Government, but it is noticeable that not until October, 1793, were the hitherto separate armies of Brest and La Rochelle united in one command as the Army of the West.

After their failure to take Nantes the *Vendéens* ceased to be a very serious danger to the Republic: the repulse broke the spell of their successes and, though it did not end the insurrection, it checked its further spread, and showed that the *Vendéen* on the strategical offensive was a less formidable foe than the *Vendéen* defending his own country. The move across the Loire after Chollet was never more than the despairing effort of a beaten Army, and what little chance of success it ever possessed was thrown away when the march was directed on Granville instead of upon Lower Brittany.

One subject remains that should perhaps be discussed—England's failure to aid the *Vendéens*. If England could lend a helping hand to French Royalists as far away as Toulon, surely she might have done more for the *Vendéens* at her very doors. On the face of it, it does seem that an opportunity was cast away. That England's honour was in any way concerned is not suggested; she had not urged them to rise or pledged them her support; her failure to aid them was not a repetition of Bolingbroke's treatment of the Catalans in 1713; but just as the European powers had used the Jacobites, whenever they could, as a means towards annoying the Hanoverian Government in England, so England might have used the *Vendéens* to weaken the French Republic. But it must be remembered that in 1793 the Army of Great Britain was on a peace establishment and quite inadequate to face a European war. Not only had England not got the troops to spare—there was in January, 1793, only barrack accommodation for 20,000 men—but the tone of the Army had been seriously affected by the failures of the American War; the organisation was corrupt and inefficient, the regiments were little more than skeletons, and the story of the Duke of York's campaigns in the Netherlands is a sufficient proof that England would have been ill fitted to embark on a campaign in La Vendée. Moreover there is nothing more dangerous than to send a contingent to support a political insurrection

in a foreign country: in the words of Captain Mahan (*Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, i. 97), "The natives of the soil, among whom such a force appears, either view it with suspicion or expect it to do all the work; not unfrequently are both jealous and inactive. It is well then to give malcontents all the assistance they require in material of war, to keep alive as a diversion every such focus of trouble . . . but it is not safe to reckon on the hatred of the insurgents for their own countrymen outweighing their dislike for the foreigner. It is not good policy to send a force that is incapable of successful independent action, relying on the support of the natives in a civil war." England might certainly have done more in supplying the *Vendéens* with munitions of war, a light squadron off the mouth of the Loire might have cut the communication by sea between Nantes and La Rochelle, reduced Les Sables d'Olonne and Noirmoutier, and kept open a means of retreat, though in 1793 the command of the sea had not yet been assured to England by a pitched battle and the great Brest fleet was intact: but the failure of the *Vendéens* was due to their want of something England could never have given, unity and discipline.

THE DEBT AND DEFICIT AND THE FINANCIAL CONDITIONS OF FRANCE 1789-95

BY J. R. MORETON-MACDONALD, M.A.

It is a common fallacy to trace the outbreak of the Revolution to one main cause, the financial collapse of the *Ancien Régime*. To quote only the most recent authority, Mr. J. E. Bodley (France, ed. 1899, p. 77) argues that "It (the Revolution) was inevitable because of the immense misery and discontent caused, first by the mismanagement of the public finances, together with the extravagance of the Government and the Court, and secondly by the ever increasing multitude of privileged persons, whose exemption from taxation threw the burden more grievously on the poorest portion of the population."

Now this conclusion has just so much truth in it (i.) that the States-General were summoned primarily to consider the financial crisis, and, in the eyes of Necker and the King at least, to consider very little else; (ii.) that a great radical change in the incidence and method of collecting the taxes was necessary. It does not however follow that a remedy for this financial crisis could not have been found by the Monarchy (whether with or without the aid of States-General), without recourse to so violent a method as a complete political and social Revolution.

Ever since the close of Louis XIV.'s reign the annual expenditure had exceeded the income, and things had consequently been going from bad to worse. Louis XV.'s reign is marked by five compulsory reductions of the interest on the National Debt, or operations of a similar nature (1715, 1721, 1726, 1759, 1770), the most complete of which was the last, carried out by Terrai: and one after another of the finance ministers in Louis XV.'s and Louis XVI.'s time had been driven to extremities by the increase of the deficit. Still Louis XVI. was, to use an expression of Mirabeau's, "King of the richest Kingdom in Europe:" the riches of the kingdom increased by leaps and bounds during his reign; and, considering these riches, the expenditure on government was not excessive.

The fact was that the best use was not made of the resources of the nation: owing to the number of privileges and exemptions, vast numbers of the wealthier inhabitants escaped taxes altogether or paid an insufficient proportion;¹ the mediæval and unequal methods of collection, most cumbersome and costly in themselves, were rendered worse owing to the arbitrary divisions of the country for taxative purposes; while the leakage in the

¹ Dupont de Nemours put the situation epigrammatically, though he overstated it, in the *Cahier* of the *Bailliage* of Nemours: "One will hardly believe that in order to become noble, it is sufficient to become rich; and to cease to pay taxes it is sufficient to become noble. So there is only one way of escaping taxation and that is to make a fortune."

process of collection was enormous, amounting to sometimes half the total revenue collected.¹ Reforms which would have simplified the collection, suppressed all privileges and exemptions, and abolished some of the more obnoxious indirect taxes (especially the *gabelle*) would most certainly have restored a credit balance to the Government, and lightened the burden of the taxpayer; nor were such reforms beyond the capacity of such ministers as Turgot or even Necker, had they been allowed a few years of office and backed by the steady support of the King. Turgot, Necker and Calonne did indeed each contribute much in their respective short terms of office towards the amendment of the financial status; Turgot by the suppression of the *Corvée Royale*, and (far more) by the abolition of *Contraintes Solidaires* for the *Taille* and *Vingtièmes*; Necker by valuable and drastic reforms in the administration of the *Taille*, and Calonne by his proposals, made to the Notables, to abolish all exemptions and introduce an equitable land tax. Each of these men may have failed for a particular reason to stave off the Revolution: Turgot both because of a certain rigidity of mind and want of tact in dealing with men, and because his free trade ideas were very unpopular; Necker from indecision and shiftiness of policy; and Calonne because he was not believed to be sincere; but all three failed mainly because of Louis' downright stupidity and inability to see that the situation was serious: never setting his face seriously to grapple with any problem, ever ready to take (without listening to) a new adviser, the King was content with his own good intentions, and at last agreed to trust himself on the unknown sea of a States-General, without a course charted out or a firm hand at the helm.

It is in fact true that all the changes in taxation demanded by the "men of 1789" had been attempted by some minister of the *Ancien Régime*. *Égalité devant l'Impôt* was not a new cry invented by the Constituent or the Convention; it had been accepted in principle by the Notables in 1787 as well as by all the Provincial Assemblies; and in an overwhelming majority of the *Cahiers* of the *Noblesse* the pecuniary exemptions and privileges are expressly resigned. The *Impôt foncier* of the Constituent (1790) was closely modelled on the land tax proposed by Calonne to the Notables, and this again was derived from Turgot and the Economists: when the Revolution attempted to strike out a path of its own, as in the *Assignats* and forced loans, it merely landed itself in bankruptcy; and even the one financial reform generally believed to be great and good, the *Grand Livre* of Cambon in 1793, has now been proved to be a worthless sham.

The Provincial Assemblies in the last year before the Revolution had already successfully tackled the question of the assessment of direct taxes by elective assemblies (Stourm, ii. 479), and invented the system of *porteurs de contraintes*, by which at the present day the government recovers its taxes in disputed cases. They had further laid down the principle that the *revenu net* not the *revenu brut* was in all cases to be the basis of taxation. The arbitrary increase of the *Taille* upon particular provinces, without a general edict touching the whole kingdom, had been impossible since Necker's great reform of 1780: the *contraintes solidaires* had already been abolished by Turgot. The *corvées*, after two attempts and two restorations, had been definitely condemned by the Notables in 1787. The absurd liberality of the Crown towards individuals, in the shape of pensions,²

¹ Cf. *Revue de la Révolution*, xiii. 124, which gives the approximate figures for 1787.

² The pension list was valued by Necker in 1789 at 25 millions, but the Committee of the Assembly put it in Dec. 1789 at 31. If the working expenses of

croupes (gifts out of the taxes) and exchanges of demesne lands, had been stopped by Necker and his successors. The indirect taxes remained to be reformed, but both Necker and Calonne (to the Notables) presented schemes for the reform of the worst of these, the *gabelle*. Both Turgot and Necker ardently desired the abolition of the *douanes intérieures*, though the latter wished to keep the regulation of the corn trade in the hands of the Government. Calonne's commercial treaty with England seemed to be the herald of the new system of frontier tariffs prepared and warmly supported in the Notables. Calonne began the regular payment of the interest of the debt on the half-yearly day on which it fell due, and established a perfectly sound sinking fund which would have paid off 700 millions in 25 years; and another scheme for repaying the principal, which would have knocked off another 500 millions in the same time: his recoinage of Oct. 1785 established for the first time the proportionate equality between gold and silver; and he paid in full the sufferers by Terrai's bankruptcy of 1770 (Stourm, i. 238).

Well does Dupont de Nemours say (*Mémoire sur la Vie de Turgot*) "It is inconceivable that an Empire so powerful and so enlightened, whose prosperity was increasing every year, whose agriculture, manufactures and commerce were growing every day, whose population had increased by 4 millions in 27 years, should have been overthrown for 52 miserable millions of *livres*. The king and France might have been saved in ten perfectly simple ways." Well, too, does Léonce de Lavergne remark that France made more progress in the ideas of justice, equality and liberty in the 15 years of Louis XVI.'s reign (up to Aug. 1789) than in the 25 years from 1789 to 1815.

Let us try then to consider the subject under the following heads:—

- (i.) The debt and deficit.
- (ii.) The taxes of the Ancien Régime.
- (iii.) The taxative legislation of the Revolution.
- (iv.) The *Assignats* and forced loans.

The leading authorities on whom I have relied are: (1) René Stourm, *Les Finances de l'Ancien Régime et la Rév.* (Paris, 1885); (2) Vührer, *Histoire de la Dette publique de la France* (Paris, 1886); (3) Gomel, *Les Causes Financières de la Rév. Fr.* (Paris, 1893); (4) Bailly, *Hist. Financière de la France* (Paris, 1830).

To these add some smaller works, reports, etc., the most important of which is Montesquiou's report to the Constituent in Nov. 1789.

I. The Debt and Deficit. One is confronted at the beginning with the most extraordinary diversity of figures; and one of the worst faults of the *Ancien Régime* was its utterly unsystematic way of keeping accounts. Necker perhaps "knew the ropes" better than any one else, but even Necker often confesses how difficult it is to present the *États au Vrai* in an intelligible light (*Compte Rendu* of 1781 and *L'Administration des Finances*, 1784, *passim*).

Roughly speaking, the interest on most of the interminable loans may be said to have been about 5 per cent.; and this on an admitted debt of 2½ milliards in 1789 would give interest of 125 millions a year (Stourm, ii. 276). But this is but slightly in excess of the debt at the close of the Seven Years' War (2,360 millions). Yet enormous sums were added to the

the government be estimated at 350, this gives something of the same proportion (7 per cent.) that is given by the modern French pension list of 150 to working expenses of 1,900 millions. Of these 31, M. Stourm thinks that some 7 millions were "abusive" pensions, *i.e.*, not conferred for real service to the State (ii. 138).

debt between those years (certainly over 2 *milliards*). The answer to this seeming puzzle is (i.) that a great deal of the old, and some of the new debt also, was held in tontines, terminable annuities and "lottery loans;" that Turgot paid off large sums without contracting new debts, and Necker and Calonne did the same while contracting new debts. Again, one must not be surprised to find that at the final bankruptcy (*Faillite du Tiers Consolidé*, Sept. 1797) the interest dealt with, *i.e.*, the interest on the remaining debt of the *Ancien Régime* is only 119 millions, in spite of the vast extravagance of, and vaster debt created by, the Revolution (none of which was ever paid at all). The comparative persistence of this exact figure of 119 (Turgot's calculation, 1774; *see* Vührer, i. 258) is very remarkable: and it must be remembered that such an annual payment (under 5 millions sterling) was a drop in the bucket;¹ especially when one estimates that the interest on the contemporary debt of Great Britain, with something over half the population of France, and at a lower rate of interest, would, if reduced to livres, be equivalent to about 175 millions.

This then is more or less the state of the permanent debt.² But it must always be remembered that the charges in respect of the debt in 1789 considerably exceeded this 125 or 119 millions. There were a great number of annuities and tontines, and these were estimated, together with the floating debt, in 1789 at almost 100 millions more. It was obvious, however, that charges like these would soon terminate. Are we then to seek in the deficit the really serious crisis? or in the anticipations of next year's revenue, sometimes as high as 150 millions? The deficit was of course nothing short of a scandal, *i.e.*, it was scandalous that such a rich government should have lived in such a haphazard way as not to have wiped it out long ago. Only once in the eighteenth century, *viz.*, in 1738, in Fleury's ministry, did the Government really manage to balance its books. Terrai on his resignation acknowledged a deficit of 27 millions;³ Bailly (ii. 190-2) says that he underestimated it and that it was really 41; Turgot had no time to tackle it seriously, and his successor Clugny acknowledged the same figure as Terrai. Under Necker it seems to have averaged about 40 millions a year, although Calonne in his famous controversy with Necker claims to have inherited a deficit of 80. One cannot help blushing a little for the good Necker when one finds him resorting to lottery loans and tontines and the like,⁴ yet so great was the

¹ The American War seems to have cost something between 1,200 and 1,400 millions. Necker borrowed at easy rates 530 millions; Joly de Fleury and d'Ormesson (May, 1781-Nov. 1783) 400; Calonne (Nov. 1783-Feb. 1787) 700; Fourqueux and Loménie (Feb. 1787-Aug. 1788) 320; total since 1777 something under 2 *milliards*.

² In 1815 the interest of the French debt was 198 millions; in 1848, 230; in 1871 (before the war indemnity), 687; in 1872, 1,132; in 1889, 1,330 (capital value of debt 31 *milliards*). *Rev. de la Rév.* xiv. 281. At the present day there is an annual deficit varying from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 sterling (thus about equal to the highest estimated deficit of the old Monarchy); and this with a population at least stationary, if not decreasing, and every source of revenue apparently taxed up to the extremest possible limit.

³ This in spite of his conversion of tontines into life annuities, his reduction of interest by 50 per cent. on many of the loans, his suspension of promised repayments of capital and his appropriation of the sinking fund. Remember, however, that Calonne paid all the Terrai creditors in full.

⁴ Necker, in spite of his supposed genius for banking, really shines far more as an economic administrator, a reformer of methods of collection, than as a power in credit; his system of loans was old-fashioned and hand-to-mouth.

riches of the kingdom, so great the quantity of capital seeking investment,¹ that neither Necker nor his successors had any difficulty in getting almost any loan subscribed. Still more, however, is one compelled to blush for him when one reads his *Compte Rendu* of 1781, in which he tried to prove that in an ordinary year there would be a surplus of 10 millions. This, it is to be feared, was only due to his desire to stand well with the financiers and to be able to borrow easily. M. Stourm (ii. 186) seems to me to take an unaccountably lenient view of this conduct of Necker: and Calonne was, I think, essentially right when he threw the blame of the increasing deficit on this policy (*cf.* Vührer, i. 263). But Calonne kept on paying off some and borrowing more and feeling the pulse of the Bourse just as Necker had done: he would have appeared more honest in the eyes of posterity had his proposals of 1787 come three years earlier; and he left a deficit probably at least twice as great as that which he inherited—a deficit which he avowed to be 115 and which his successor Loménie put at 140 *plus* anticipations of 255. In spite of the partial suspension of cash payments (which lasted just a month) made by Loménie on Aug. 16th, 1788, his *Compte Rendu* avowed a great increase in the deficit during his short ministry (160 millions in all): and Necker, whose second ministry was inaugurated on Sept. 14th, 1788, by the resumption of cash payments, must therefore have been deliberately concealing the truth when he asserted at the meeting of the States-General that the deficit was only 57 millions. The real figure was nearer to Loménie's 160 with arrears of 175 (Stourm, ii. 274). Yet Necker was right when he declared that this deficit "which has made such a noise in Europe" could be made to disappear without fresh taxes "et avec des simples objets inaperçus" (*ibid.*, ii. 247). All that was needed was a readjustment of the system of collection and of incidence, and these reforms had already been begun.

Necker then came into office pledged to remove this deficit with the help of the States-General: the suggestions which he made for its gradual extinction were good and sensible, and he was probably the right man in the right place had he been given free hand and firm support. The minute reforms of system which he proposed for this end were, however, entirely distasteful to the Constituent Assembly, which, after its victories of June and July, 1789, proposed to reconstruct the entire financial system of France *de fond en comble* (Stourm, ii. 247, *sqq.*). All the ministerial proposals were rejected and after attempting to carry through two abortive loans in the autumn of 1789,² Necker looked on in impotent protest at the commencement of the paper money *régime* till his own retirement, Sept. 3rd, 1790. The first year of the Revolution closed with a deficit of 177 millions, and the last three months of 1790 alone added 90 millions to this. By the end of 1790 there was a deficit of 350 with arrears of 268. No serious attempt whatever to deal with the "debt and deficit" question was made till Cambon's famous *Grand Livre* of Aug. 24th, 1793, concerning which M. Stourm remarks (ii. 334) that it was really the herald of a bankruptcy, that it did nothing to consolidate the debt except to impose a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on all arrears due to

¹ It is calculated that the ordinary revenue had increased by 130 millions in the 13 years preceding the Revolution (the *Ferme Générale* whose contracts were renewed every six years showed an enormous increase on each contract) (Stourm, ii. 232, i. 19, etc.). But the expenses of government increased out of proportion to this increase.

² What a shock the events of June and July had given to credit may be gathered from the fact that even Necker (*ministre adoré*) was unable to get his two trifling loans subscribed in the autumn of 1789.

creditors, and another tax on all transference of *rentes*, amounting in all to 2 per cent. : it did indeed enumerate the claims of the State creditors, but only as a merchant about to fail schedules his debts. The "colossal bankruptcy," which alone could wipe out the milliards of debt created by the Revolution, together with the trifling arrears of the *Ancien Régime*, did not come till 1797 (Law of demonetisation of *Assignats*, Feb. 4th, and *faillite du tiers consolidé*, Sept. 30th). Two-thirds of the *rentes* were then struck off the *Grand Livre* and paid in paper of practically no value at all, which was equivalent to a bankruptcy of 63 per cent. : the amount of the debt of the *Ancien Régime* then and there accounted for was 1,900 millions ; the rest of the 35 milliards of these two bankruptcies was the debt of the Revolution alone !

II. We must now go back and examine the system of taxes in use in old France. The direct taxes were the *Taille*, *Capitation* and *Vingtièmes*. Of these the *Taille* was by far the largest and oldest. It had originally been a levy on the Royal Domain, but had in the fifteenth century become a general tax in lieu of military service, a fact which exempted the clergy wholly and the *noblesse* partially from its incidence. In the *Pays d'État* the *Taille* was a direct land tax assessed by a committee of the local estates and paid through them into the Treasury. In the *Pays d'Élections* there were two *tailles*, one "real" the other "accessory," and the amount of the latter up to the year 1780 varied from year to year and from district to district according to the needs of the government and the reports sent in by the Intendants of the ability of their districts to bear the tax. The *répartition* (i.e., distributive assessment) was deputed to the Intendants, who appointed "collectors" from among the richer peasants for the unpleasant task of valuing and assessing the property of their neighbours, these collectors being themselves responsible for the total to be collected from each parish. This *contrainte solidaire* was abolished by Turgot (Stourm, i. 51-2 ; Gasquet, Précis, i. 335, sqq. ; Adam Smith, bk. v. cap. ii.). The nobles were obliged to pay *taille* in the *Pays de droit Écrit*—Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, part of Guyenne, Burgundy, Alsace, Flanders, Artois and Quercy—on all their lands held by non-noble tenure,¹ while in the *Pays de droit coutumier* they paid on nearly all the lands farmed by themselves. But there were numerous exemptions even to these rules, and the nobles were in a position to compound very favourably for all direct taxes. Many efforts were made to equalise the burden of the *taille*, e.g., by Turgot, who, during his Intendance in the Limousin² made a valuation of all properties and a register of the due amounts of payment ; *cadastres* on this model were introduced into the *Pays d'État*. Necker made an attempt to supplant the collectors by regular paid officials, but made it optional to retain the old system : and in 1780 he laid down that the "accessory" *taille* could never be increased except by a general edict common to the kingdom. In the few years immediately preceding the Revolution, this, the principal direct tax of France, amounted to about 91 millions on the average (Necker, L'Administration des Finances, 1784).

¹ The Marquis de Mirabeau in 1779 paid 400 livr. *taille* on one of his non-noble fiefs. See Loménie, Les Mirabeau (ii. 93), for this and a general refutation of the view that the nobles were wholly exempt (see also Gomel, iii. 82). Remember always that service and taxes were paid by the *land* whoever owned it. There was constant buying and sale of land going on, and innumerable cases of *roturiers* becoming possessed of fiefs by mere purchase, and of nobles becoming possessed of lands owing *taille* "real."

² Turgot found that in some parishes the *taille* was as low as 1 *sou* in the *livre*, in others as high as 6 (Lavergne, Les Econ. Fr. 228).

The *Capitation* dated from 1695 and was of the nature of a hearth tax plus a poll tax, and there were supposed to be no exemptions from it, not even for the clergy; but these compounded for it immediately, and the composition which they made formed part of their *don gratuit* which on the eve of the Revolution amounted to 18 millions, and this only paid quinquennially. The nobles too, though nowhere getting exemption on any large scale, seem always to have been able to compound favourably.¹

The idea of an *Impôt Général* or *Impôt Unique*, proportional on all revenues, was Vauban's: it was adopted in principle by Desmarets at the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, but so far from being "unique" was made additional to the other taxes: it was called a *Vingtième*, and was several times suppressed and renewed; a second *Vingtième* was added in 1756, and a third in 1783 to meet the expenses of the American War. Here again exemptions and compositions stepped in; but Gasquet (i. 343) says that the *Vingtièmes* touched the upper classes much more than the *Capitation*, because there was but one assessment roll for each province. Although intended to be levied on both personal and real property, the *Vingtièmes*, like the English "land tax," fell almost wholly on land (out of 76,000,000 in 1785 only 2,500,000 fell on personal property, Stourm, i. 61).

If we turn to the indirect taxes we find (Stourm, i. 295, *sqq.*, Gomel, i. cap. ii.) the *Gabelle*, *Aides*, *Traites*, *Octrois*, and *Tabac* together with several smaller ones such as the Stamp Tax.

For the *Gabelle* or Salt Tax France was divided into six divisions, or provinces: (i.) *des grandes gabelles*, (ii.) *des petites gabelles*, (iii.) *de saline*, (iv.) *franches*, (v.) *redimées*, (vi.) *de quart bouillon*. In each of these divisions the gabelle differed, and the price of salt varied accordingly.² Necker in his *Administration des Finances* (ii. 57) calculates that 300 men were sentenced every year to the galleys for smuggling salt. The tax was farmed by the corporation of Farmers-General and one could only buy salt from their magazines: moreover every family was obliged to buy a fixed quantity in proportion to its numbers, or be reputed to smuggle it. An equal tax on salt, say 15 *livr.* per *quintal*, would probably have brought in a larger aggregate revenue to the government than this absurd system. Even the Constituent hesitated to abolish the *gabelle* altogether, and (March 30th, 1790) attempted to substitute for it an *impôt de remplacement* to produce 50 millions: but this, like all other taxes of the Revolution, simply remained unpaid (Stourm, i. 317).³

Aides (or *Excise*) were levied on all fermented liquors, gold and silver work, iron, starch. Wines paid $\frac{1}{8}$ when sold wholesale and another $\frac{1}{8}$ when sold retail. No very great complaint is made of this tax, but like the *gabelle* it was worked on a very complicated system.⁴

Traites (or Customs) were exacted at the *douanes intérieures* or barriers between the three "custom-house" divisions of France, *i.e.*, between the central provinces (or *pays de cinq grosses fermes*) and the *pays ré-*

¹ Necker gives the *capitation* as producing 42 millions.

² From 62 *livres* the *quintal* in the provinces *des grandes gabelles* to 2 *livres* in the provinces *franches*.

³ Necker estimates the produce of the *gabelle* at 52 millions.

⁴ The most curious part of which was that the *aides* proper were only levied within the jurisdiction (*ressort*) of the Parlements of Paris and Rouen, *i.e.* some two-fifths of the kingdom; nevertheless they produced from 50 to 60 millions (Stourm, i. 325, *sqq.*). (The Parlement of Paris had jurisdiction over 10 million persons, that of Rouen over 2 millions.)

putés étrangers (the next outer ring comprising those provinces reunited to the Crown in the later Middle Ages) and again between these and the *pays étrangers*, Alsace, Flanders, Lorraine,¹ as well as at all the maritime ports; but between the *pays étrangers* and Germany and Netherlands there were no custom houses at all. These *douanes intérieures* and their tariffs were no doubt often worked in the interest of keeping the price of corn level in the different parts of the kingdom, but Turgot, Necker and Calonne were at one in desiring their removal, although free trade in corn was the most unpopular idea imaginable in old France; and perhaps the greatest blessing the Revolution brought was the sweeping away of these barriers, from which removal, after the anarchic period, perfect internal free trade arose. In 1787 a scheme was presented in the Notables for new custom houses at the frontier only, based upon a low tariff: the privileged provinces however made a good deal of resistance.

Of the lesser indirect taxes the Tobacco Monopoly produced about 30 millions; *L'Enregistrement*, *La Contrôle* and *Le Centième Denier* (taxes on conveyances and successions) produced 41, the stamp tax 6, hall marks on gold and silver plate 2; excise on oil and soap, *messageries*, paper tax, and duty on playing cards, somewhat lesser sums; the total of indirect taxes being not much over 200 millions (say 215). Besides these resources the Government laid hands on half the *Octroi* of Paris and some other large towns—say 20 millions; the post office brought in 15; the "woods and forests" (*Royal Domain*) 50. That brings us to 300 millions without the direct taxes, and if we accept Necker's figures quoted above these will amount to 209. Total 509 millions. But we must beware of too great definiteness. So carelessly were the accounts kept that even such auditing as there was was not unfrequently eight or nine years in arrear; Turgot however we know estimated the ordinary revenue at 377 in his ministry, and our previous estimate of increase (130 in the last 13 years before the Revolution) would just about bring the sum right. All the indirect taxes of course hit the upper classes as well as the lower, and of the direct taxes von Sybel calculates (i. 44) that the *noblesse* should have paid, supposing perfect equality of taxation, from 33 to 36 millions more than they did.

The expenses of the Government are however perfectly impossible to ascertain; guesses can be made, e.g., working expenses 350 to 400, interest on loans terminable and interminable 200, pensions 30 and the like; but there will still remain a huge deficit unaccounted for. It is practically certain that 600 to 650 is a moderate estimate of the whole, although Necker was probably not too sanguine in telling the States-General that he hoped that the expenses of the four years following 1789 would not amount to above 530 a year (*Stourm*, ii. 429); for, as we have said, he was the man for economies.

III. The Constituent however would have nothing to say to Necker's plans, and their own budgetary legislation was of the wildest; in consequence of which, deficit, arrears and capital of debt increased at the most alarming rate: a rate moreover which no one in the Assembly dared to avow.

No actual estimate was ever made of the expenses of 1789-90, but on Aug.

¹ *Pays de cinq grosses fermes* where Colbert's tariff of 1664 prevailed, *vis.*, Isle de France, Orléannais, Burgundy, Berri, Poitou, Normandy, Picardy: *pays réputés étrangers*, under the tariff of 1667, Limousin, Auvergne, Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, Guienne, Xaintonge, Brittany and Franche-Comté. The *pays étrangers* also included one or two little islets of territory or privileged cities, e.g., Bayonne, Marseilles, Gex (*Stourm*, i. 471). *Traites* amounted to about 20 millions, some six of which only came from the *douanes intérieures*.

18th, 1790, the *Comité de l'Imposition* printed a report giving 580 as the probable normal expenses of central government, adding 60 for departmental and 76 for extraordinary expenses (Gomel, iii. 39, 124, 239; von Sybel, i. 254). On Feb. 18th, 1791, a still more optimistic report was drawn up giving the probable expenses of that year at 520 and the probable receipts at 580 (Stourm, ii. 296), whereas it was already notorious that neither old nor new taxes were being paid. These estimates were considerably below those of the expenses of the *Ancien Régime*; the Committees dared not avow that the new government was far more costly, while the "liquidation" of the *Ancien Régime* alone (*i.e.*, the payment of pensions to the holders of suppressed offices, or the capitalisation of such pensions) was estimated to cost 1,300,000,000. Yet this second estimate, says Stourm, is the only thing approaching a budget which any Revolution Assembly has left us. A rough estimate of the expenses of 1792 was made in the Legislative by Laffon de Ladébat in Dec. 1791, which gives expenses 650, receipts 511, deficit 139: but in Feb. 1792 Cambon, who had already stepped upon the scene, raised the expenses to 821, while in May he declared that 550 was the most that could be expected in the most prosperous year. The commencement of the war at about the time of this pronouncement of Cambon's renders further researches into budgets somewhat ludicrous; from Oct. 1st, 1792, to June, 1793, the total expenditure seems to have reached 1,900 millions, while the *total revenue collected in 1792 probably did not exceed 300 and that of 1793 did not exceed 80 millions* (Stourm, ii. 416, *sqq.*). With one more calculation of Cambon's we may leave this part of the subject; on Sept. 1st, 1793, he estimated that since May 5th, 1789, 6 *milliards* odd had been spent, of which 1 *milliard* and three hundred millions had gone, as we have seen, to the liquidation of the *Ancien Régime*, although he put this a little lower. The *Ancien Régime*, reformed on Necker's valuation of 530 odd millions a year, would have spent in the same time, including the liquidation, something over 3 *milliards* for the 4½ years; the new Government was thus over 2½ thousand millions of *livres* more expensive than the old would have been: a *milliard* more than the preceding four years had been.

We may say at once that with the exception of the colossal blunder of the *Assignats* the Constituent may fairly be acquitted of all blame except for timidity in this matter. It found itself at once compelled to accept vast responsibilities entailing vast expenditure in every direction—though chiefly in the direction of Revolutionary propaganda. It was all very well for Montesquieu in Nov. 1789 to talk of "economies to the extent of 110 millions," but there was Paris to be fed, National Guards to be equipped, *fêtes* to be organised; and all this by the hands of incompetent and insatiable municipal officers who simply revelled in the opportunity of boundless expenditure of other people's money. To meet this demand there were with regard to taxation two policies which the Assembly might pursue: (i.) either retain the old taxes, gradually eliminating the hardships and inequalities from them, (ii.) or make a *tabula rasa* of the old system and levy new taxes with a strong hand. The Assembly did neither.

On Dec. 14th, 1789, a *mémoire* was received declaring it to be impossible in many places to collect any taxes at all: the same on Jan. 2nd and Aug. 10th and 18th, 1790 (Gomel, iii. 543; iv. 30, 235). Yet the Assembly maintained the old taxes until they were compelled reluctantly to drop them one by one by the outcry of the mob.¹ When these were dropped it was not ready with

¹ *Gabelle* was not abolished till March 30th, 1790; *Aides* not till March 2nd, 1791.

anything new, and no new taxes came into force till Sept. 1791; by which time people had become but too much habituated to paying nothing at all. The period between the dropping of the old and the institution of the new taxes was tided over by little loans (which were hardly subscribed at all), "patriotic gifts," "patriotic income tax" and the commencement of the *Assignat*. When the scheme of taxation was produced the Committee recommended the sweeping away of all indirect taxes, and hence they are credited with an attempt to live up to the physiocratic ideal in which many of them believed. But as a matter of fact only those indirect taxes which principally affected the lower class were abolished, while the stamp tax and registration dues were retained¹ (von Sybel, i. 257). The sale of patents, a sensible innovation, was calculated to produce 22 millions, a poll tax 60, and the *Impôt Foncier*, falling on all landowners equally (not on occupiers), 300. The basis of its levy was to be the average net produce of the land for the last 15 years; and it was not to exceed $\frac{1}{3}$ of this (Stourm, i. 124, 315). This tax came into force Nov. 23rd, 1790, and would obviously have been a fairly heavy burden: the difficulty of collecting it however was enormously enhanced by the impossibility of calculating the average product for the past 15 years.

The indirect taxes which, in spite of the "ideal," were retained to supplement this system consisted chiefly of a new *tarif des douanes* for new custom houses (on the frontiers only), copied from that of 1787, which, with an increase in the stamp tax, would, it was hoped, bring in 110 millions (Gomel, iii. 345).²

The manifest failure of this *Impôt Foncier* led, on Jan. 13th, 1791, to its being supplemented by an *Impôt Mobilier* (Stourm, i. 328), under which head was then lumped the poll tax (3 days' wages at rate current in district) from every "active citizen," an inhabited house duty, a tax on salaries of officials, and an "inland revenue" duty on horses, mules and domestic servants. But it is distinctly not an income tax; the Assembly considered that the *rentiers* were sufficiently touched by its details.

But what was the use of a new tax if it could never be collected? Clavière in a report, Feb. 1st, 1793, declared that in 1791 only half the *Impôt Foncier* due had been paid, in 1792 nothing at all (Gomel, iv. 567). How then did the Revolution Governments live? One great windfall was granted them, the *Biens Nationaux*; let us see what use they made of them.

IV. The *Biens Nationaux* included not only the real and personal property of the clergy taken over by the State in Nov. 1789,³ but the Crown lands also, and, from 1792, a steady increase in the confiscated property of *Émigrés*; and condemned persons. I shall make an attempt below to estimate the total value of the riches thus acquired; in the meantime let us consider the use made of them by the successive Governments. There was a dispute at the outset between the *Comité des Finances*, as represented by Montesquiou and backed up by Mirabeau, and its critics led by Dupont de Nemours (supported by Necker outside), as to whether paper money guaranteed by the State should be issued directly by the Treasury on the security of these lands, or notes should be issued by the *Caisse d'Escompte* as the specie

¹ These were of course just as irritating to the genuine physiocrat as *Gabelles* or *Aides*.

² The more ordinary indirect taxes remained in abeyance till the Empire, when they were reimposed on liquors 1804, salt 1806, tobacco 1808 (Stourm, i. 301).

³ Remember that the debt of the clergy was taken over also, and that the "expenses of worship" (salaries of bishops, priests, etc.) far exceeded the most optimistic estimate of the income derivable from the church lands (see Appx. on Civil Constitution of the Clergy).

from the sale of these lands came in (Gomel. iii, 478); obviously Dupont was right in supporting the latter view; and it is pathetic to think that Necker, when he became at last the advocate of a really sound scheme which he thoroughly understood, should have so far lost all his former influence as to be unable to prevent the commission of one of the greatest financial blunders known to history.¹ The whole wretched history of the *Assignat* proves the wisdom of their criticism: the *biens* were not immediately realisable, and they were therefore not a legitimate security for the issue even of a limited paper money.

Still less for an unlimited issue. At first a guarantee was given that there should never be more than 1,200 millions of *Assignats* in circulation, and that as these returned to the Treasury they should be destroyed; holders of *Assignats* were to have a *première hypothèque* on the *Biens Nationaux* (Gomel, iv. 269). Even the Constituent exceeded the promised limit by 600 millions, and that with its eyes open, from a cowardly resolve not to risk its popularity by taxing the nation adequately, or enforcing the taxes it ordered. After its close issue followed issue with startling rapidity, and on April 27th, 1792, the Legislative deliberately abandoned all principle of limitation. By the summer of 1793 there were 4,320 millions in circulation and *Assignats* were issued for sums as low as 10 sous. In its latter days the Convention went on with feverish haste in the same direction, the workmen engaged in making *assignats* were kept at work daily from 6 A.M. till 8 P.M.; and at last the issues were voted by the Committees and kept secret from the Convention itself.

The Directory increased the pace a hundredfold, and after a final issue of 12 *milliards*, destroyed the die of the *Assignats*, but immediately replaced them by *Mandats Territoriaux* which rapidly followed the same course. In Feb. 1797, when the astounding figure of 47½ *milliards* of paper money had been issued, the State demonetised the whole quantity then in circulation, *i.e.*, failed for some 35 *milliards* (Stourm, ii. 325, *sqq.*).²

The steady depreciation of this paper money³ may be understood from the following table given by Stourm (ii. 311):—

In Jan. '90	the <i>Assignat</i> of 100 <i>livr.</i>	was worth	96
" '91	"	"	91
" '92	"	"	72
" '93	"	"	51
" '94	"	"	40
" '95	"	"	18
June '95	"	"	2'973

The only remarkable fluctuation in the table (which I have not given in full) is between July, 1793 (when they were down to 23) and Jan. 1794 (when they were up to 40 again), but this is accounted for by the fierce measures taken by the Committee of Public Safety against persons who refused to

¹ Dupont (*see* Lavergne, *Écon. Fr.* 403) put the case against Montesquiou with his usual clearness, "Toute rente de terres demande un temps moral pour être effective: aucun papier ne peut remplir l'office de monnaie si les porteurs ne sont à chaque instant maîtres de le changer contre la monnaie." *See* also Gomel (iii. 493; iv. 128, 259, 310) for Dupont's arguments on various occasions.

² The Constituent had created 1,800 millions, the Legislative added 900 millions, the Convention a mere trifle of 7,000 millions. The rest of the issue is to be ascribed to the Directory! (35,000 millions).

³ The lowest quotation is the 100 franc note at 6 sous (shall we say twopence halfpenny?) in Feb. 1796.

accept the notes at par, especially by the law of Sept. 5th, 1793 (six months imprisonment for the first offence, 20 years for the second, and, if the intention of the refuser were *incivique*,—death!). No power on earth however could long check depreciation: and the bankruptcy was foreseen at least as early as July, 1793, when all those *Assignats* bearing the old royal stamp were demonetised; ¹ while on a proposal by Vernier that one half the nominal value should be paid, every one was delighted at the idea of the State paying its creditors ten shillings in the pound (Stourm, ii. 321-2)! But nothing of the kind was done. Yet it was continually urged by those who were responsible for the issue that there really was a sound basis for the *Assignats*; Cambon, for instance, as late as Feb. 1795, declared that "the Nation was under great obligation to the Constituent for their creation." Let us examine what truth there is in the "sound basis" theory, to what, supposing all the *Biens Nationaux* to have been sold, would their capitalised value amount? (see von Sybel, i. 164; Gomel, iv. 275; Stourm, ii. 145.) The accounts of contemporaries vary considerably, but the report of Montesquieu at the end of the Constituent (Sept. 9th, 1791) gives a total capitalised value of Church and Crown lands at 3,500,050,000 livres, of which 900 millions are Crown lands—say roughly $3\frac{1}{2}$ *milliards*; Lavoisier on Jan. 1st, 1792, put it somewhat lower, at 2,800,000,000; Cambon, Oct. 17th, 1792, put it at 3,310,000,000. It is not these original *Biens Nationaux* that are so difficult to value,² but the subsequent confiscations. Already in Jan. and Feb. 1793, Roland and Cambon put these at 4,800 and 4,000 millions respectively. Johannot in a report of April, 1795, puts them at $9\frac{1}{2}$ *milliards* (it was the object of these gentlemen to exaggerate the advantages derived from them by the State). But these figures are quite upset by the calculation made by Charles X.'s government in 1825 with a view to restoring some of the confiscated property. The figures then were put at 2,500,000,000, giving, with the total of Church and Crown lands above mentioned, a grand total of 6 *milliards*. And this was the sum on the security of which the Revolution issued paper up to $47\frac{1}{2}$ *milliards*!

The only other financial experiment of the Revolution is the graduated income tax and forced loan of the summer of 1793 (see Hélie, i. 359) to fall on all incomes above 1,000 *livres* for bachelors and above 1,500 *livres* for married men, increasing by $\frac{1}{10}$ on every 1,000 *livres* above that amount. In this scheme the tax started at 10 per cent. on your first 1,000 *livres*, and increased in geometrical progression until 9,000 *livres* was reached, on which you would be paying 4,500 (50 per cent.); above 9,000 the tax was 100 per cent., *i.e.*, confiscation of your entire income above that maximum; a

¹ 558 millions bearing the King's head were then demonetised, but the State agreed to receive such notes in payment of debts due to it till Jan. 1st, 1794: and 354 millions were so paid over (probably holders of these notes suddenly bethought them of the civic duty of paying some taxes); so only 204 millions became waste paper at the moment (Stourm, ii. 324), a "superb experience" as Cambon called it.

² Nor indeed is this vast resumption of lands held in mortmain anything so very iniquitous, provided the salaries of clergy were adequately secured out of them. It was however calculated that 2,310 millions of clerical property would yield 70 millions a year and would sell at 32 years' purchase. This is ludicrous when we reflect on the effect of throwing a great deal of land on the market at once. That so much was actually sold is evidence of the great prosperity of France in 1789-90. Besides, much of this clerical property was not lands at all, but mortgages and rents: twenty millions belonged to schools and hospitals not confiscated; and finally the sum for the expenses of worship worked out at 134 millions, nearly double the amount of the confiscated income!

man then whose nominal income was 100,000 *livres* would enjoy less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of it. This wild proposal was the work of Cambon, Réal and Ramel, and Danton supported them; it was thoroughly to the taste of Cambon, whose historical position as a financier is due to the fact that by hook or crook he did manage to tide over the dreadful years of 1793 and 1794. But it also explains the great outcry for his head in 1795, which, as he was not a particularly bloodthirsty man, is otherwise rather unintelligible (*see* Stourm, ii. 369). Lanjuinais made his usual protest against this tax, but in vain; but we do not hear of it after the autumn of 1793, and the Committee of Public Safety in its later days simply took from private individuals any property that it required.

Nothing but bankruptcy could end this state of things; it cost you 800 *francs* to drive across Paris and 1,000 *francs* to get a decent meal at a restaurant. But the double bankruptcy of 1797 (Feb. 4th and Sept. 30th) was made in the most cynical manner. First, as we have seen, the law of Feb. 4th demonetised 35 *milliards* of notes which the State had expressly pledged itself to redeem in cash (Stourm, ii. 327); then the *Faillite du Tiers Consolidé* consummated the ruin of the hapless creditor who had carefully preserved his credentials of shares in the National Debt: for the 119 millions then inscribed on the *Grand Livre* (so called) of 1793, the Directory simply took its bill and wrote 43, thus striking out an annual debt of 76 or a capital of 1,500 millions. By the same law of Sept. 30th the annuities and pensions were also reduced by $\frac{2}{3}$ and thereby 400 millions added to the bankruptcy. Thus in the spring France failed for *thirty-five milliards* and in the autumn for almost *two milliards* more.

THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY

BY THE EDITOR

THE Law of July 12th, 1790, founding the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, is divided into four "Titles" and may be summarised thus:—

Title I. (α) The reduction of the bishoprics to 83, each diocese to be conterminous with a department.

(β) No foreign bishop or metropolitan has any jurisdiction in France.¹

(γ) Appeals lie from the diocesan synod to the metropolitan synod.²

(δ) A complete rearrangement of the parishes of the kingdom is to be made on the basis of one parish for each 6,000 souls.

(ε) All chapters, etc., are swept away, but there is to be a number of "vicars" attached to each cathedral for the maintenance of the services and for the instruction of candidates for the ministry,³ and to form a permanent consultative council or synod to the bishop.

Title II. (α) Both bishops and *curés* are to be elected, the former by the secondary electors, the latter by the primary: the departmental authorities are to conduct the former elections, the municipal the latter; but the elections are to be in the cathedral and parish churches respectively, after the celebration of mass at which all the electors must be present.⁴

(β) A bishop must have been in the exercise of priestly functions for at least fifteen years and have served some office in the Church for that time. Within one month from his election he must apply to his metropolitan for institution: the metropolitan to the next oldest bishop in his diocese. If the metropolitan thinks fit to refuse institution he must state his reasons in writing and the case may then be referred to the civil courts: the elected bishop must before institution take an oath that he professes the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion. No confirmation by the Pope is necessary or permissible,⁵ but a

¹ This was perhaps not intended to be aimed at the Holy See, but at the Great German archdioceses, which extended far into the newly conquered provinces of Flanders, Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, etc. It was one of the causes of complaint made at the Diet by the Ecclesiastical Electors.

² Here it is not so clear that appeals to Rome were not intended to be forbidden. M. Hélie in his Commentary on the Law (Constit. de la Fr. i. 136) thinks that this did not aim at the destruction of the Pope's jurisdiction over metropolitans in the matters of faith or discipline.

³ In each diocese there is to be a seminary of instruction presided over by a "Vicar Superior."

⁴ It is true of course that this would exclude all *honest* non-Catholics, but it would not *legally* exclude any one possessing the electoral qualifications (which are the same as those for municipal and parliamentary office), whether he were Protestant, Jew, Turk or Infidel.

⁵ It is here that we have the definite breach with the Papacy; yet a breach that might have been conceivably bridged over, for the King had nominated before, and

letter notifying the election shall be sent to him, "in proof" of the unity of the faith and communion which the elected bishop holds with him. The oath of fealty to the Nation, the Law and the King, and another oath to maintain with all his might the Constitution (which was to be) decreed by the National Assembly, must be taken before consecration.

(γ) A *curé* to be eligible for a parish must have been employed in some vicarial function (at the cathedral or in some hospital or charitable institution) for at least 5 years. The institution and oaths of the *curé* correspond exactly to those of the bishop: and neither bishop nor *curé* may enter upon his office till he have taken the said oaths.

Title III. (α) Residence and salary, varying in the case of the bishops from 6,000 to 50,000 *livres*, and in the case of *curés* from 6,000 to 12,000, is to be provided by the State, the salary is to be paid quarterly, and a small pension is provided for *curés* past work.

(β) No fees of any sort may be charged for any episcopal or priestly functions.

Title IV. (α) Residence is obligatory, though bishops and *curés* are allowed a fortnight's consecutive holiday in the year.

(β) Bishops, *curés* and vicars may enjoy the full municipal and parliamentary franchise, both primary and secondary, and may sit in the Legislative Assembly or in the *Conseils-Généraux* of their *commune*, district or department, but may not be *maires* or members of departmental directories.

Such was the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of which the chief draftsmen were the members of the Ecclesiastical Committee nominated on Aug. 20th, 1789, and shortly afterwards reinforced. It comprised two bishops (those of Clermont and Luçon); three *curés*, one of whom was the "pious" Grégoire of Emberménil (one of the most fanatical revolutionists in France who afterwards sat in the Convention and desired leave to record his vote for the King's death even though absent); Lanjuinais and Durand-Maillane, two scholars in Canon law; Camus, a fanatical Jansenist; Dom Gerle, a Carthusian monk, who then or afterwards was mad and became the dupe of two successive "prophetesses"; Talleyrand and Montesquiou (two free-thinking *abbés* of wholly secular life); Treillard, an avowed Voltairean; the eminently respectable Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and Dupont de Nemours.

Now every one will admit that the riches of the old Church of France were far too great, and too unequally distributed. There were 134 bishopricks ranging from that of Strasburg with an income of half a million down to little sees of scarce 6,000 *livres* per annum. There were large, rich and powerful chapters attached to these bishopricks, there were some 800 monasteries and some 300 collegiate churches. That religion was "right well kept," as Henry VIII. said, in all these rich foundations is not probable; but we have every reason to believe that the Church of France as a whole was in a sound condition, that its hold on the nation at large was enormous and practically unshaken by the assaults of the philosophers. There had certainly been a falling off in the number of professed monks and nuns, but the best tendency

it might fairly be argued that the change was a mere transference of power from the Sovereign King to the Sovereign People. It might be argued that the secular tribunal which would decide in the last resort as to the confirmation of the election was usurping little more power than the old law courts had exercised by their entertainment of appeals *comme d'abus*, by which they had always resisted the encroachments of Rome. But a nominal confirmation by the Pope had in all cases been a necessity, and it was grossly impolitic to refuse it so bluntly. Further notice that the words "ordination" or "orders" are never mentioned in speaking of the person eligible for bishopricks and parishes.

of the age was towards an active and practical rather than an ascetic and devotional form of religion. The *cahiers* had energetically demanded reform in many of the Church questions, such as pluralities, non-residence and abbeys held *in commendam*; but these and many other abuses might have been rooted out without an open declaration of war upon the Catholic Church and its head.

Was the Civil Constitution such an attack? There have been two views held on the subject; and the first is that the Church had such a hold on the nation that the Revolution could not help tackling the question in some shape or other; that it could not sever the Church from the State altogether,¹ as perhaps from the point of view of modern radicalism would have seemed to be the natural course (hardly a voice however was raised for the favourite theory of the nineteenth century); and that therefore the only course which the Revolution had open to it was that of bending the Church to its will, making the Church its servant or partner in some way or other. There was much to be said for such a course, and especially this, that the large majority of the *curés* in the States-General were upon the side of the liberals until the Church was touched. Further it has been argued that the Civil Constitution did not touch any doctrinal question, that it merely rearranged the disciplinary system of the Church, that this was little more than an extension of the principle of the pragmatic sanction of St. Louis and the "Articles of the Gallican Church" of 1682, and that the Pope's opposition was little more than plenty of kings had beaten down. These views were put forward by Treilhard in the debates of May, 1790.

The other view, to which most modern writers, and some distinctly not on the Catholic side, such as M. Aulard, have subscribed, is that the Civil Constitution was *the* great mistake of the Revolution—a view which has behind it the great names of de Tocqueville, Taine, von Sybel and Sorel. Sorel² boldly says that the ecclesiastical committee "sinned against light with their eyes open, and were prepared to let the schism come if it liked to come: that the only thing wanting to it was a respectable number of schismatics" (but this is an exaggeration, for a considerable minority of the *curés* did take the oath at one time or another, though most of them retracted it afterwards). That it was absolutely certain to drive the King into final hostility to the Revolution seems either not to have occurred to its supporters or to have been ignored by them. The reasonable proposal of an appeal to a council of the Gallican Church (the Pope's permission for which might have been obtained), a proposal supported not only by the Archbishop of Aix and d'Épéménail but also by Gobel afterwards "Constitutional Archbishop" of Paris, was scouted by the Assembly, whose majority cried out for the bill, the whole bill and nothing but the bill.

And so the bill was carried. No sort of attempt was made to manage the Pope, who was allowed to learn from the newspapers the whole of the anti-clerical legislation of the Assembly. The King's position was now a most painful one; the Pope (Pius VI.), far away and a man of most autocratic nature, did not appreciate his difficulties. His two ecclesiastic ministers, Cicé and Pompignan, gave Louis little help, and Bernis, his minister at Rome, was red hot against the Assembly and all its works. On 1st Aug. therefore Louis

¹ Lafayette, a most nobly tolerant man in religious matters, whose own family steadily refused communion with the Civil Church, and who acknowledges the brutal fierceness of the mob against the true priests, really seems to have wished the severance of Church and State (*see* his *Mém.* and *Corresp.* iii. 59).

² *See* L'Europe et la Rév. Fr. ii. 115-128.

weakly threw on the Pope the responsibility of refusing assent to the decrees, and on 26th he accepted them himself. The bishops were firmer: in October they published a vigorous protest against all the ecclesiastical legislation of the Assembly ("Exposition des principes de la Constitution Civile du Clergé") drawn up by Boisgelin (Abp. of Aix) and signed by thirty bishop-deputies.¹ A motion of Voidel's on Nov. 26th to compel the clergy to take the prescribed oath led to a fierce debate, which prolonged itself till the end of December, and, the motion being carried, the King had the incredible weakness of mind to sanction this also (Dec. 26th). This must be taken as the point at which he definitely declared war on the Revolution, for no more popular plank of resistance could have been found than this. In February, 1791, Bernis resigned his mission at the Court of Rome,² to die three years later in poverty. Strongly opposed as the shrewd little man had been to the whole business, he did his best to persuade the Pope to temporise and to find a *via media*, but Pius would none of it and on April 13th, 1791, he launched the brief *Charitas*, which declared that the Civil Constitution meant nothing less than the ruin of religion in France. On May 30th the Papal Nuncio left Paris and the schism was complete. It would be difficult to condemn too strongly the attitude taken by Mirabeau on the whole question; while incessantly urging the Court to make a plank of popularity by secretly undermining the Civil Constitution, he continued to declaim in the Assembly in the strongest language against the refractory clergy and the *Exposition* of the Bishops.³

While I feel little doubt that M. Sorel's view is the true one, yet I think that the Constituent as a whole must be cleared of the charge of impiety or anti-Christianism. I think with M. Duvergier de Hauranne (i. 161 *sqq.*) that many of the members *did* regard the Civil Church as a development of the anti-Roman Legislation of the Monarchy, and that the idea of a schism was repugnant to most of their minds. Moreover I think the Constituent must be cleared of the charge of persecution; it seems to have done its feeble best to protect the non-juring priests during the last six months of its existence (the only months of its office during which that question was a burning one). But it had got itself into an exceedingly awkward dilemma; and no condemnation can be too strong for the gravest mistake in the Civil Constitution itself, *viz.*, the application of the principle of election on municipal lines to the parish clergy and bishops.

The oath was taken by four occupants of French sees and three persons in episcopal orders; of whom the only well-known names are those of Talleyrand, Gobel and Loménie de Brienne. There was much difficulty in filling up the (seventy odd) vacant sees; still greater difficulty in getting consecration of the new "bishops." The first nominated was the *Abbé* Expilly to the diocese of Finisterre, and he had the honour of being "consecrated" by Talleyrand and Gobel!

The persecution of the non-jurors began almost immediately on the meeting of the Legislative Assembly, and may be thus briefly tabulated:—

(1) Decree of Nov. 29th, 1791, ordering all ecclesiastics who had not taken the oath to take it within eight days, or be deprived of salary and rendered "suspect."

(2) Decree of May 27th, 1792 (vetoed by Louis but re-enacted immediately

¹ The *exposition* was signed by 130 of the 134 French bishops.

² See Cardinal de Bernis depuis son ministère (edn. Masson). See especially pp. 479-494.

³ See Bacourt, ii. 355-60.

after the fall of the Monarchy, Aug. 26th), ordering all non-juring priests to quit the kingdom within a fortnight or to be deported to Cayenne.

(3) Decrees of Aug. 17th and 18th, 1792, dissolving all the religious houses and turning out all the professed religious who had remained in them in spite of the abolition of vows and monasticism decreed on Feb. 13th, 1790;¹ abolishing and making illegal the monastic dress, and allotting a pension only to such of them as would take the oath.

(4) This was re-enacted more stringently on April 24th, 1793.

(5) Decree of Aug. 12th, 1793, sanctioning marriage of clergy (a good many constitutional "priests" and even a "bishop" had married already).

With the autumn of 1793 the persecution came to include the Constitutional "Church" also: and the only later law which draws any distinction between jurors and non-jurors is that of April, 1794, which adds to the penalty of deportation that of death if found in hiding, and that of death to any one concealing a non-juring priest.

The persecution no doubt produced innumerable instances of martyrdom bravely suffered for the Catholic faith, but it was disastrous to the religious life of the country. It uprooted the Church from the soil of France, and all subsequent Governments have either not dared or not cared to replant it deeply enough. The restored Church having no longer roots in its own country was forced to lean upon Rome, and upon Rome it has leaned till this day. But the schism did more than this; friends and foes alike agree that it wrecked the Revolution; the "men of 1789" may have been driven into intolerance against their wills, but they were driven thither; to the men of 1792 and 1793 intolerance was the very breath of their nostrils. And it was intolerance that ruined the Revolution: yet one has only to consider the methods of Government of the Third Republic towards the Church to see how deeply the idea is rooted in France that intolerance is a necessary and laudable complement of democracy. So loudly do modern French "statesmen" proclaim this creed that one is often tempted to take them at their word, and to believe it to be true.

¹ The ordinary date given for the dissolution of the monasteries is this earlier one, but all that was then done was to annul the obligation of vows, and to disperse the monks to "houses which shall be allotted to them," and to leave such nuns as wished to stay where they were. The law of August, 1792, forcibly broke up all religious associations and confiscated their property; including that of the charitable corporations, hospitals, etc.

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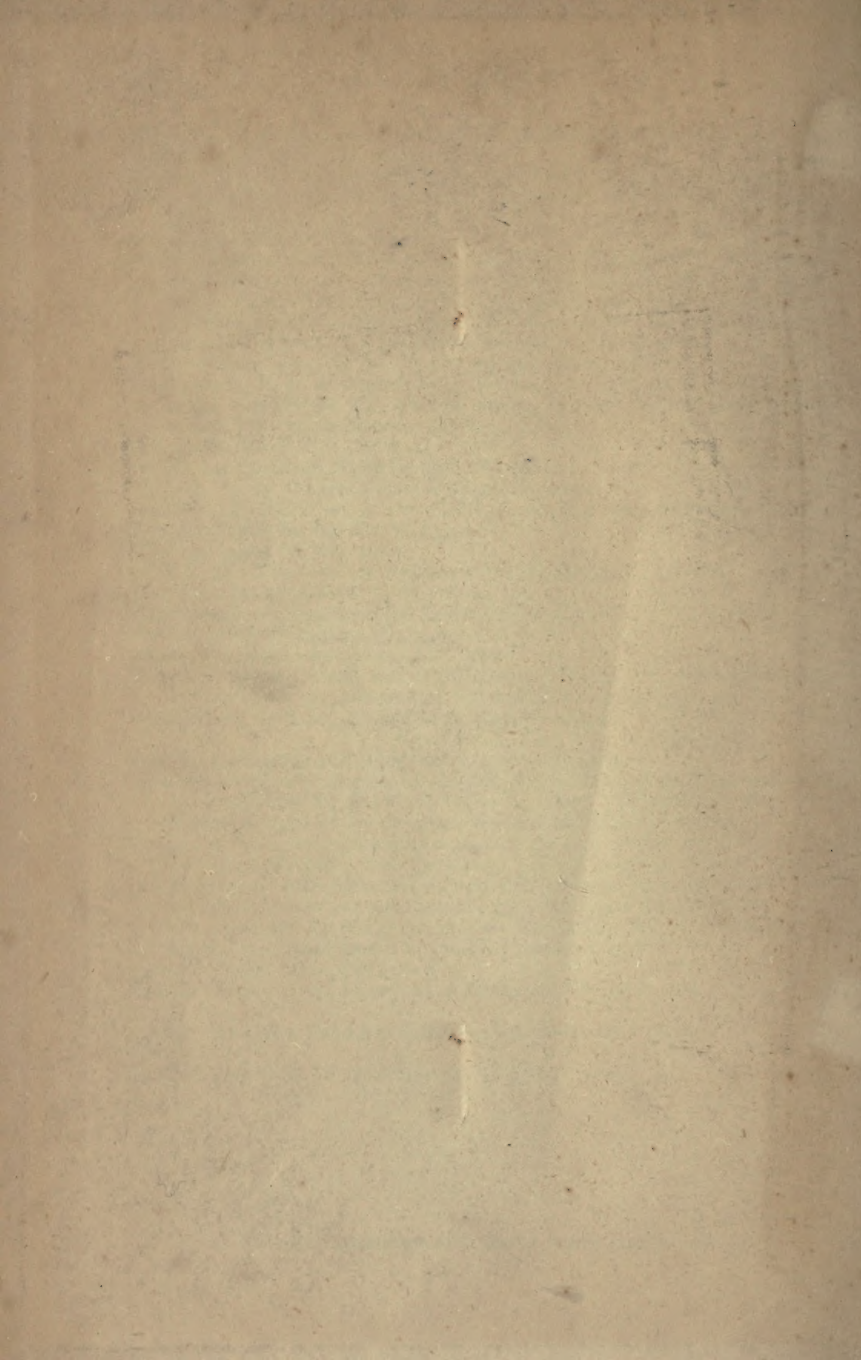
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